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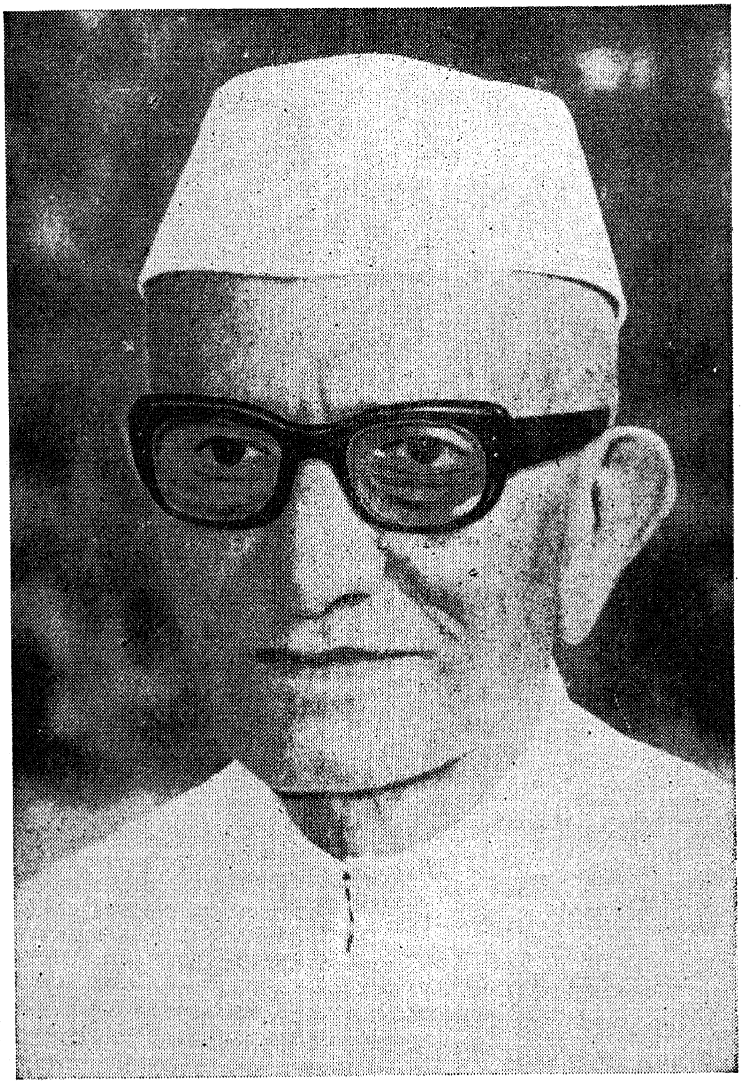

EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH OF SRI MORARJI DESAI

PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA

"..... Sanskrit is not dead, as nothing can kill it. Even we in our folly cannot kill it. That is the vitality of Sanskrit.

..... Sanskrit was a unifying force in India and it is hoped that the scholars in the country would do more research in their own language than in English. Then only we will be recovering our full capacity and potential".

...... Sanskrit was the oldest and ancient language in the world. It was not one of the richest, but the richest of all languages.

...... I do not know of any language which has got the magnitude and width of literature embracing all walks of human activities, as is found in Sanskrit.

...... enquiries had led me to believe that even the search of atom had its origin in the study of Vedas in Germany.

...... The name "Samskrit" itself meant refinement of culture. The very name of the language was the sign of sanctity and the best in culture. The names of all other languages in the world either represented the countries of their origin or tribes. Sanskrit thus surmounted the human and national boundaries ......"

(Speech delivered on the occasion of releasing the second part of the Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Sanskrit on the 24th July, 1977 in Poona.
— — The Hindu, 25-5-'77)

CONTENTS

ENGLISH SECTION

Page

1. Yāska's Nirukta and Uṇādisūtras
Dr. Nomita Dutt ... 1

2. Pāṇini III. iv. 10 and the Vedic Facts
Dr. M.D. Balasubramanyam ... 5

3. A Further note on Bhartṛmitra, the Mīmāṃsaka
Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya ... 11

4. Citations from the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra in the Commentaries of Mallinātha
Dr. S.G. Moghe ... 15

5. A New Theory about the Life and Date of Kālidāsa Examined
Dr. V. V. Mirashi ... 23

6. The Portrait of Manthara
Sri M. Arunachalam ... 35

7. Concept of Jīva in Jainism—Some Observations
Dr. B.V. Kishan ... 45

8. Guṇṭupalle Inscription of Sir-sada, [two plates]
Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan ... 53

9. Confused Claim Regarding Higher Social Status
Dr. D.C. Sircar ... 61

10. Collin Mackenzie; A Dynamic Indianist [one plate]
Dr. D. Sridhara Babu ... 75

11. Mullaivananāthasvāmin Temple at Tirukkarugāvur [five plates]
Dr. T.V. Mahalingam ... 85

12. Science in Vedas
Dr. S.C. Goyal ... 101

13. Hydrological Science in Varāhamihira's Bṛhatsaṃhitā... [three plates]
Dr. E.A.V. Prasad ... 109

REVIEWS

			Page
1.	Upaniṣadonme Kāvyatattva by Krishnakumar Dhavan, *Sri U. Shankara Bhatta*	...	131
2.	Evolution of the Nyāya - Vaiśeṣika Categoriology Vol. I., Early Nyāya – Vaiśeṣika Categoriology by Harsh Narain, *Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan*	...	132
3.	Sanskrit - Essentials of Grammar and Language by Kurt F. Leidecker, *Dr. M. Srimannarayana Murti*	...	136
4.	హిస్టారికల్ అట్లాస్ — M. హనుమంతరావు శ్రీ A.V. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యులు	...	139
5.	అద్దంకి గంగాధరకవి విరచిత తపతీ సంవరణము – Ed. P. మాధవశర్మ శ్రీ A.V. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యులు	...	140
6.	బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి – విశ్వనాథ సాహితీ దర్శనం — T.V. కృష్ణయ్య & M. ప్రభాకరరావు శ్రీ K.J. కృష్ణమూర్తి	...	143

SANSKRIT SECTION

1.	प्रमालक्षणवाद: *Sri N.S. Ramanuja Tatacharya*	...	1
2.	निकषोपल: *Sri N.C.V. Narasimhacharya*	...	23
3.	दिङ्नागोक्तहेत्वाभासविमर्श: *Sri S.B. Raghunathacharya*	...	35

Page

4. श्रीयामलाष्टकतन्त्रम् (MANUSCRIPT NOTICE)

Sri K. Srinivasavaradan ... 49

TELUGU SECTION

1. రసజ్ఞుడు

Dr. T. Koteswara Rao ... 1

2. శివకవి శేషనాథుడు–శ్రీశైలఖండము

Sri K.J. Krishna Moorthy ... 15

NOMITA DUTT

YĀSKA'S NIRUKTA AND UṆĀDISŪTRAS

The *Uṇādisūtras* are the most interesting supplement to Pāṇini's grammatical work. They are rather secondary in character. It is true that Pāṇini also traces the origin of several words to roots, but he never tries to derive each and every word from them. Rather he leaves many words as underivable—*avyutpannāni prātipadikāni*. These underivable words belong to the province of the *Uṇādisūtras*.

The *Uṇādisūtras* attached to Pāṇini's work are not the only specimen of this type of work. Every system of grammar in Sanskrit should, according to tradition, possess five parts viz , the *Sūtras*, the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the *Liṅgānuśāsana*, the *Dhātupāṭha* and a set of *Uṇādi* rules. Thus most of the systems of Sanskrit grammar have their own sets of *Uṇādisūtras*.

While reading several *Uṇādisūtras*, attached to Pāṇini's grammar one is struck by their marking similarity with the *Nirukta* of Yāska. Though some of the *Uṇādisūtras* are quite distant from the *Nirukta* from the point of view of date, yet they seem to be governed by the same principle.

The *Uṇādisūtras* also like the *Nirukta* of Yāska seem to believe in the doctrine—*nāmāny=ākhyātajāni* i e , all nouns are derived from verbs. Hence they try to derive different words from roots. In fact the general belief is that all those words whose derivation is not covered either by the *Kṛt* or *Taddhita* rules of Pāṇini are taken up by the *Uṇādisūtras*, which try to trace the words to some root or the other.[1] Thus in these *sūtras* may be found roots, which are otherwise absent in the *dhātupāṭha* of

1. [However it will be interesting to note that there are certain words like *īśvara* that are derived both by *stheśabhāsapisakaso varac* a *sūtra* in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (III, ii, 175) as well as by *aśnoter = āśukarmaṇi varaṭ ca* a *sūtra* in the *Uṇādi* (No. 735 of the *Uṇādi* section of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*).—S. Sankaranarayanan].

Pāṇini. "There are about 1,950 roots in the various *dhātupāṭhas*. Only about seven or eight hundred are in general use; but even those 1,950 roots are not sufficient for derivation of all the words by the *Uṇādi* rules. Additional roots, designated *Sautra* roots had to be resorted to".[2]

The *Uṇādisūtras* also seem to believe in the doctrine of Yāska *na tv=eva na nirbrūyāt* i.e., "not that you do not derive a word". This idea leads the *Niruktakāra* Yāska to give all sorts of derivations to the words, some of which cannot be accepted either from the grammatical or from the philological point of view. Similarly the *Uṇādisūtras* also trace the origin of words to such roots or suffixes which are utterly inconceivable from the stand-point of Pāṇini and seem to agree only to the dictum of Yāska - *avidyamāne sāmānye akṣaravarṇa-sāmānyāt nirbrūyāt* i.e., "when there is no similarity, derive a word with reference to similarity of syllables or letters".

The *Uṇādisūtras* being a part of grammar are primarily concerned with the form of a word. They trace the formation of a word and thus determine their meaning and herein lies their difference from the science of etymology. To the *Nirukta* the most important thing of a word is its meaning. Therefore it first considers the meaning of a word and then derives it accordingly Therefore an etymologist cannot consider a word out of the context. The same word has different etymologies according to the different meanings it has in different contexts. The *Uṇādisūtras* can take up any word, find out the formation and thus determine the meaning. That is to say a grammarian determines the meaning of word by tracing the process of formation of a word by tracing the meaning it conveys or is desired to convey.

Thus the meaning being the most important factor in the etymologies of the *Nirukta*, the *Niruktakāra* is mostly satisfied by referring to the *dhātus*, and by conveying their meaning. And contrary to the *Uṇādisūtras* the *Nirukta* does not refer to the suffixes. At a few places, however, Yāska mentions the suffix, calling it *nāmakaraṇa*. A few instances may be cited in this regard.

Nirukta (*N.*) 2.2 - *kakṣo gāhateḥ/ksa iti nāmakaraṇaḥ/*

N. 2.5 - *gaur=iti pṛthivyā nāmadheyam/+ + + gāter= v=aukāro nāmakaraṇaḥ.*

N. 7.29 - *mithunau kasmāt/minotiḥ śrayatikarmā; thu iti nāmakaraṇaḥ, thakāro vā..*

N. 10.17 - *śeva iti sukhanāma/śiṣyateḥ vakāro nāmakaraṇaḥ.*

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2. S. Sengupta, *Uṇādi Suffixes and Words Derived With Such Suffixes* - J.O.A.S. Vol. VI nos. 3 and 4, 1964, p. 126.

The resemblance of the derivations of the *Nirukta* and the *Uṇādisūtras* is of various degrees. Some of the derivations found in the *Uṇādisūtras* give exactly the same *dhātus* as the *Nirukta*. E.g.

1) *N.* 3.20 – *nakṣatrāṇi nakṣateḥ gati-karmaṇaḥ|*
Uṇādi Sūtra. (*Un. S.*) 3.98-*aminakṣiyajivadhi-patibhyo' = tran|*

2) *N.* 4.25 – *mātrā mānāt|*
Uṇ. S. 4.170 – *huyāmāśrubhasibhays=tran|*

3) *N.* 9.26 – *āpa āpnoteḥ|*
Uṇ. S. 2.58 – *āpnoter=hrasvaś=ca|*[3]

A few of the *Uṇādisūtras* give only one of the many derivations given in the *Nirukta* regarding certain words. E.g.

1) *N.* 2.5 – *payaḥ pibater=vā vyāyater=vā|*
Uṇ. S. 4.195 – *pibater=i ca|*[4]

2) *N.* 2.7 – *śṛṅgaṃ śrayater=vā, śṛṇāter=vā, śamnāter=vā, śaraṇāy=odgatam=iti vā, śiraso nirgatam=iti vā|*
Uṇ. S. 1.123 – *śṛṇāteḥ hrasvaś=ca|*

In a few cases the verb is the same, but the meaning is different. E.g.

1) *N.* 2.26 – *pāṇiḥ paṇāyateḥ pūjākarmaṇaḥ| pragṛhya pāṇī devān pūjayanti|*
Uṇ. S. 4.142 – *asipaṇāyyo ruḍ-lukau ca| (paṇa vyavahāre, ṇyantaḥ).*[5]

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3. For more instances of similar nature see the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. III (1922) pp. 119-20.

[In fact as the *Uṇādisūtras* too, like the *Nirukta*, seem to have been originally intended for the Vedic words alone and to have been enlarged subsequently in order to include the classical Sanskrit words also (See Max Mueller, *Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit*, II Ed., p. 151), an exhaustive study of the *Uṇādisūtras* on Vedic words as compared with the *Nirukta* will be of great interest. —S. Sankaranarayanan].

4. [This *sūtra* derives *payas* from the root *pā*. However Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita's *Siddhāntakaumudī* in which this *sūtra* is not found derives *payaḥ* from the root *pī* by applying the *sūtra* which reads *sarva-dhātubhyaḥ asun* (*Uṇādisūtra*, 628) but which is missing in other versions of the *Uṇādisūtras*. —S Sankaranarayanan].

5. [But it is to be noted that the *Niruktavṛttī* (NSP. Ed. 1930, p. 104) however explains *pūjā* of the *Nirukta* as *stuti* only; that the *Dhātupāṭha* as found in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* reads *paṇa vyavahāre stutau ca* and Bhaṭṭoji adds *vyavahāre tu paṇate, stutau paṇāyati;* and Bhaṭṭoji's son Bhānuji prefers to

2) *N. 13-26* - *gṛdhra ādityo bhavati, gṛdhyateḥ sthānakarmaṇaḥ............gṛdhrāṇ = indriyāṇi, gṛdhyater = jñānakarmaṇaḥ.*

Uṇ. S. 2.24 - *susūdhāgṛdhibhyaḥ kran/ (gṛdhyati abhikāṅkṣati māṃsam iti gṛdhraḥ).*[6]

Thus inspite of some similarities between the *Nirukta* and the *Uṇādisūtras*, the points of difference also cannot be neglected. It is also noteworthy that the *Uṇādisūtras* do not mention the *Nirukta* even once. Thus borrowing on the part of the *Uṇādisūtras* does not seem to have taken place. What seems probable is that both the works are borrowing many of their derivations from some common source, older to both of them. That derivations were common even in such old works as the *Brāhmaṇas* is a known fact. It seems that some such old source has most probably been drawn upon by both the *Nirukta* and the *Uṇādisūtras.*[7]

derive *pāṇiḥ* only as *paṇāyati anena.* (See the *Rāmāśramī* com. on the *Amarakośa* s.v.). Therefore in this context actually there may not be any difference between meanings given in the *Nirukta* and in the *Uṇādisūtra.* —S. Sankaranarayanan].

6. [But it is to be noted that while the *Nirukta* is interested in having an etymology of the Vedic *gṛddhra* in such a way as to make it denote the Sun *(āditya)* the *Uṇādisūtra* under question is concerned only with the classical *gṛddhra* 'a vulture.' — S. Sankaranarayanan].

7. [From *Uṇādayo bahulam* (Pāṇini, III, iii, 1) and from the observations of Kātyāyana, Patañjali and other subsequent authors on the same it is already evident that the methodology of the *Uṇādisūtras* is a bit similar to that of the *Nairukta* school of Yāska and of the school of the grammarian Śākaṭāyana, both the schools being pre-Pāṇinian. Yāska too refers to a good number of his predecessors in his field. Hence it is not unlikely that both the *Nirukta* and the *Uṇādisūtras* were influenced by some earlier source. — S. Sankaranarayanan].

M.D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM

PĀṆINI 3, 4, 10 AND THE VEDIC FACTS

0.....Pāṇini teaches in the rule: *prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai* (*A* 3, 4, 10), that the three Vedic words, *prayai*, *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* are *nipātana*-s, denoting the infinitival sense (*tumarthe* recurring from *A* 3, 4, 9 into 10) in the Sacred Literature (*chandasi* drawn from *A* 3, 4, 6 into 10). Although P. treats these words as *nipātana*-s the Pāṇinīya-s have found it convenient to derive them from the process:

pra √yā + Kai = *prayai* 'to go';
√ruh + iṣyai (roh + iṣyai) = *rohiṣyai* 'to ascend'; and
a √vyath + iṣyai = *avyathiṣyai* 'not to feel pain'

1.....That the *nipātana* word is made by means of *Kai* (a *kṛt* suffix) is suggested by the *Kāśikā ad A* 3, 4, 10 as under:

pra-pūrvasya yāteḥ Kai-pratyayaḥ.

The need for treating the *Kṛt-pratyaya* (*Kai*) as a *nipātana* arises here, because this suffix has not been enumerated in the list of fifteen infinitival bound morphemes taught in *A* 3, 4, 9. The exponent *K* causes the elision of the final *ā* of the root before the suffix *Kai* through the force of *A* 6, 4, 64. Consequently *prayai* will have to be constructed in accordance with the following grammatical steps:

pra √yā + Kai .... *Kai* by *nipātana* (*A* 3, 4, 10)
= ,, ,, + ϕ-ai......... *K* = ϕ by *A* 1, 3, 8-9
= ,, y-ϕ + ai......... *ā* = ϕ by A 6, 4, 64
= *prayai* .... suffix initial accented by *A* 3, 1, 3:

Thus *prayai* is an oxytonic infinitive in P's system of accentuation.

The author of the *K.* shows the occurrence of the infinitive in *ṚV* 1, 142, 6 b: *prayaí devébhyo mahīḥ.* The verse is addressed to the

Āpris by the seer-poet who beseeches them to throw open the divine doors *(dvāro devīḥ)* for the devas to enter *(prayai devebhyaḥ)*. Accordingly Geldner renders 1, 142, 6 b as

"Die göttlichen Tore sollen sich zum
Eintritt für die Götter auftun......."

Sāyaṇa glosses *prayai* with *'prayātum'* and his grammatical explanation of the oxytonic word — — *A* 3, 1, 3 allowing the accent to rest with the initial syllable of the suffix — runs thus:

prayai ....avyathiṣyai (*A* 3, 4, 10) *iti nipātitaḥ*.

The oxytonic infinitive also occurs in *ṚV* 10, 104, 3 b:

prayaí sutásya haryaśva túbhyam:

"I offer to you *(pra iyarmi)* whom bay steeds
carry, the powerful *(ugrām)* drink (of pressed
Soma) to make you start".

This line is repeated in *AV* 20, 25, 7; 33, 2 b. In view of the facts mentioned above, one might hypothesize that P. has drawn *prayai* obviously from the *Ṛgveda*.

2.....Let us now focus our attention on the other *nipātana*-s, *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai*. These words are formed with *iṣyai according to *K.*, and it is expressed in the following terms:

ruheḥ iṣyai-pratyayaḥ - "*apā́m*
óṣadhīnāṃ róhiṣyai" - , rohaṇāya /

vyather naññpūrvasya iṣyai-pratyayaḥ -
avyathiṣyai, avyathanāya //

The Vṛttikāra, in all probability, might have drawn the Vedic citation (*apā́m* .. *róhiṣyai*) from *TS* 1, 3, 10, 2. Bhaṭṭoji glosses *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* with *'roḍhum'* and *'avyathitum'* respectively (*SK* 3437). Both the words occur in a single prose passage at *KS* 3, 7, and the text — with its accents reconstructed by me — runs as follows:

agnís tvā́ śrīṇātu ...... vā́tasya tvā́
dhrā́jyai pūṣṇó rámhyā ūṣmáṇo'vyathiṣyā
apā́m óṣadhīnām róhiṣyai / (*KKS* 2, 14)

While *avyathiṣyai* is attested only in the *Kāṭhaka* passage cited above, the collocation: *apā́m óṣadhīnāṃ róhiṣyai* occurs in *TS* 1, 3, 10, 2 (±*KS* 3, 7 = *KKS* 2, 14). The *Kāṭhaka* passage may be compared to the corresponding citations occurring in other *Yajurveda* texts, which are as follows:

TS 1, 3, 10, 2 : vā́tasya tvā dhrā́jyai pūṣṇó raṃhyā́ apā́m óṣadhīnā́m róhiṣyai /

MaiS 1, 2, 17 : vā́tasya tvā́ dhrā́jyai pūṣṇó ráṃhyā ūṣmā́ṇo' vyáthiṣe' pā́m óṣadhīnā́ṃ rásaḥ /

MS 6, 18 : vātasya tvā́ dhrā́jyai pūṣṇó ráṃhyā ūṣmáṇo vyathiṣat práyutaṃ dvéṣaḥ /

ŚB 3, 8, 3, 21 : vā́tasya tvā dhrájyā ití / pūṣṇó ráṃhyā́ ití / (22). ūṣmáṇo vyathiṣad ití / (23).

It emerges from these citations that *avyathiṣyai* is attested only in *KS*, while *rohiṣyai* can be traced also to *TS* quoted above. Concomitantly a Pāṇinist *cum* Vedist is led to believe that P. might have drawn *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* from *KS* 3, 7. Needless to say, these infinitival words in *-iṣyai* have not escaped the attention of the eagle-eyed P. whose intimate acquaintance with the *Kāṭhaka* school can be proved to the hilt. That the *Kāṭhaka* (besides the *Kālāpaka*) which was taught from village to village on account of its popularity was a well-established text at the time of Pat., is known from his statement: *grāme grāme Kāṭhakaṃ Kālāpakaṃ ca procyate* ../ (*VMB* II. 315 *ad A* 4, 3, 101). Renou[1] admits of the fact that "la science des textes Kaṭha est remarquable chez Pāṇini". Schroeder[2] and Thieme[3] have shown P.'s intimate acquiantance with this School — the latter holding the view that *KS* is the most important of the three *Kaṭha* schools, which has been drawn upon by P.

3.....The accentuation of these two *iṣyai*-words offers a puzzle to Pāṇinists and Vedists. If *iṣyai* were the suffix with which these infinitives are formed, the accent will fall on the initial suffixal syllable in accordance with *A* 3, 1, 3 (in the case of *rohiṣyai*) and *A* 6, 2, 139 (in the case of *avyathiṣyai*). Consequently both the *iṣyai*-words will be treated as paroxytonic. But *KS* 3, 7 has barytonised these infinitives.

In the case of *avyathiṣyai*, a Pāṇinist can resort to *A* 6, 2, 2 and the *Vt.—saha-nirdiṣṭasya ca* (no. 16 *ad A* 6, 1, 158; *VMB* III.101) — in an attempt to justify the *nañ-svara* which pulls down the *kṛt-svara* taught in *A* 6, 2, 139. Pat. cites *ávyathin*— (a √vyath + inI by *A* 3, 2, 157) as a typical example in which the accent falls on the negative particle

1. *JA*, (Paris, 1936) 228.338
2. *ZDMG* 33, 194 ff.
3. *Pāṇini and the Veda* (Allahabad, 1935) No.1. p.64.

in conformity with the *Vt.*: *avyaye nañ-ku-nipātanānām* (No. 3 *ad A* 6, 2, 2; *VMB* III. 123) which overrides the subseqent rule (*A* 6, 2, 139 which preserves the original suffixal accent taught in *A* 3, 1, 3). Correspondingly *avyathiṣyai* can be considered as belonging to the barytonic class of Kṛt-words in which the negative particle is accented. This is further supported by the fact that *KS* 35, 10 (=*KKS* 48, 12) has preserved the barytonic accentuation of *ávyathyai* and the text reads:

> ariṣṭyā́ ávyathyai saṃveśā́ya
> gāyatryaí chándase 'bhibhúve sváhā /

Thus the barytonic accentuation of *avyathiṣyai* can be explained in the light of P.'s rules. Yet P. treats the word as a *nipātana*, since *iṣyai* is not included in the list of infinitival suffixes enumerated by P. in *A* 3, 4, 9.

With regard to *róhiṣyai*, the case is different. The *Saṃhitā* texts have treated it as a barytone. In order that the barytonesis be justified, Vishva Bandhu (*VPK*, *Saṃhitās*, 2683) reads the suffix *iṣyaiN, since the exponent /*N*/ added to the final position of the suffix will make the accent rest with the initial syllable of the word, through the force of *A* 6, 1, 197. Nevertheless Bhaṭṭabhāskara (*ad TS* 1, 3. 10, 2; Mysore edn. I.330) glosses the word with '*rohaṇāya*, *utpattaye*', and simply treats *rohiṣyai* as a *nipātana* word relying on *A* 3, 4, 10 for his support We may now get out of the problem by accepting the verdict of the Pāṇinīya-s that the word is formed with *-iṣyai and its barytonesis could be explained on the ground of P.'s tool of *nipātana*.

4......The problem posed here furnishes us with the following criteria governing the applicability of *A* 3, 4, 10 to Vedic facts.

i) P. draws the oxytonic *prayai* from *ṚV.* which is taught as a *nipātana* owing to the exclusion of *Kai* in the list of the infinitival suffixes taught by P. in *A* 3, 4, 9.

ii) P. might have drawn both *rohiṣyai* and *avyathiṣyai* from *KS* 3, 7——a text with which P.'s intimate acquaintance can be proved to the hilt. The barytonic *avyathiṣyai* could be justified in the light of *A* 6, 2, 2 and the *Vt.* (16) to 6, 1, 158, while the barytonic accentuation of *rohiṣyai* may be explained in the light of P.'s tool of *nipātana*. The characteristic omission of *-iṣyai* in *A* 3, 4, 9 provides the ground for treating these Vedic infinitives as *nipātana* words; and

iii) The *Nipātana* may be regarded as one of the potent tools utilised by P. for explaining some of the anomalous Vedisms.

ABBREVIATIONS

i)	*A*	...	Aṣṭādhyāyī
	P	...	Pāṇini
	Pat	...	Patañjali
	Vt.	...	Vārttikam
ii)	*ṚV*	...	Ṛgveda-Saṃhitā, Poona, edn. 1933-51
	TS	...	Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Mysore, 1894-98
	MaiS	...	Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā, Leipzig, 1923
	KS	...	Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, ,, 1900
	KKS	...	Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṃhitā, Lahore, 1932
	MS	...	Mādhyandina (Śukla-yajurveda) Saṃhitā, Bombay, 1912
	AV	...	Atharvaveda, Hoshiarpur, 1962
	ŚB	...	Śathapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Varanasi, 1964
	VPK	...	Vaidika-Padānukrama-kośa, Hoshiarpur, 1942-63
iii)	*K*	...	Kāśikā, Varanasi, 1965-7
	SK	...	Siddhānta-Kaumudī, Varanasi, 1960-1
	VMB	...	Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣyam (Kielhorn's edn), Poona, 1962-65

SŪTRA REFERENCES

A	1, 3, 8	...	laśakvataddhite
	1, 3, 9	...	tasya lopaḥ
	3, 1, 3	...	ādyudāttaś ca
	3, 2, 157	...	ji ... avyatha ... prasūbhyaś ca (3, 2, 156 prajoriniḥ)
	3, 4, 6	...	chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ
	3, 4, 9	...	tumarthe sesenase ... tavenaḥ
	6, 1, 158	...	anudāttam padam ekavarjam
	6, 1, 197	...	ñnityādir nityam
	6, 2, 2	...	tatpuruṣe tulyārtha ... avyayadvitīyā-kṛtyāḥ
	6, 2, 139	...	gatikārakopapadāt kṛt
	6, 4, 64	...	āto lopa iṭi ca

BISWANATH BHATTACHARYA.

A FURTHER NOTE ON BHARTṚMITRA THE MĪMĀṂSAKA

The present paper has to be treated as an annexe to our earlier article on Bhartṛmitra already published in the pages of this esteemed journal.[1] In that article of ours we have seen how Bhartṛmitra's view on the fivefold relationship that *lakṣaṇā* bears to the *vācyārtha* has been quoted by Someśvara and Māṇikyacandra in their commentaries on Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* and how the same view has also been cited anonymously by Abhinavagupta in his *Locana* on Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka* and by Gopendra-Tripurahara in his *Kāvyālaṅkārakāmadhenu* on Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*.

Now, the aim of the present annexe is to record fresh data in this context. Thus Bhartṛmitra's verse has been quoted by Mukulabhaṭṭa in the *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā*.[2]

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1. *A Note on Bhartṛmitra, the Mīmāṃsaka*, above Vol. XVII, Parts 1 and 2, January-December, 1974, pp. 131-132.

2. Cf. *yac ca tan-mukhyārth-āsannatvam* (*° santatvam* — sic) *tat pañca-prakāratayā ācārya-Bhartṛmitreṇa pradarśitam* —

   abhidheyena sambandhāt sādṛśyāt samavāyataḥ/

   vaiparītyāt kriyā-yogāl = lakṣaṇā pañcadhā matā//

   iti ślokena/tena prayojanasy = āpi dvai-vidhyam etc.

   (*Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* ed. M.R. Telang, Nirnaya-Sagar Press Bombay, 1916, *svopajñavṛtti*, p. 17). The present writer expresses hereby his indebtedness to the kind authorities of the National Library, Calcutta, and in particular to Pandit N.B. Marathe for the supply of the xerox copies of the NSP. edition of Mukulabhaṭṭa's *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* and Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa's *Śabdavyāpāravicāra*, both edited by M.R. Telang.

The same verse has been cited anonymously by Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa in his *Śabdavyāpāravicāra*.[3]

Further, the selfsame verse has also been quoted anonymously by Śrīdhara in his *Viveka*[4] and Guṇaratna in his *Sāradīpikā*[5] on Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

Lastly, N.S. Veṅkaṭanāthācārya in his *Bhāvukapriyā*[6] on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* informs us that the above verse occurs in Jānakīnātha's (*ca.* A.D. 1300) *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī*. These references could be traced for the present.

These show that Bhartṛmitra's view on *lakṣaṇā* had been accepted by the early and mediaeval *ālaṅkārikas*.

[**Editorial Note:** In the above paper and in its predecessor, Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya has drawn our attention to some of the Ālaṅkārika works and authors quoting a verse of the famous Mīmāṃsaka teacher Bhartṛmitra on the *lakṣaṇā-vṛtti* Dr. Bhattacharya is obviously not aware of the scholarly treatise "A short History of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā Śāstra" by Late Sri V.A. Ramaswami Sastri which that scholar

3. Cf. *yaś=ca sambandho lakṣaṇāyā nimittaṃ tam pañca-vidham=āhuḥ; yath=oktam —*

    abhidheyena sambandhāt sādṛśyāt samavāyataḥ|
    vaiparītyāt kriyā-yogāl=lakṣaṇā pañcadhā matā||

    iti (*Śabdavyāpāravicāra*. ed. M.R. Telang, NSP. op. cit., *svopajñavṛtti*, p. 8) (See also p. 1, foot-note 2 supra).

4. Cf. *āha ca —*

    abhidheyena sambandhāt sārūpyāt samavāyataḥ|
    vaiparītyāt kriyā-yogāl=lakṣaṇā pañcadhā matā||
    iti (*Viveka*, ed. S Bhattacharyya, Part I, Calcutta, 1959, p. 33).

5. Cf. *vaiparītyād=api lakṣaṇā pravartate; tathā c=oktam —*

    abhidheyena saṃyogāt sāmīpyāt samavāyataḥ|
    vaiparītyāt kriyā=yogāl=lakṣaṇā pañcadhā matā||

    iti (*Sāradīpikā*, ed. T.S. Nandi, Vol. I, First Edition, Ahmedabad, 1976, pp. 110-111). The present writer records hereby his heartiest thanks to Dr. T.S. Nandi for the kind presentation of a copy of the above *Sāradīpikā*.

6. Cf. *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjaryām* — 4. in the *Bhāvukapriyā*, Vol I, Mysore, 1974, p. 89, foot-note 1 (to be read with Appendix, p. 555). The present writer appreciates the friendly gesture of Sri C.G. Purushothama of Mysore University for presenting a copy of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* with the *Bhāvukapriyā*.

    But the Lazarus edition of Jānakīnātha Bhaṭṭācāryacūḍāmaṇi's *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī* (Kāśī, 1916) does not appear to contain the relevant quotation from Bhartṛmitra's view on *lakṣaṇā*.

had added in his introduction to Vācaspati Miśra's *Tattvabindu* published by the Annamalai University, as early as 1936. In that work Sri Sastri had already drawn our attention (p. 26) to the verse in question quoted in Mukulabhaṭṭa's *Abhidhāvṛttimātṛkā* (NSP Ed.). The reading in that work as quoted by Sri Sastri is *abhidheyena sāmīpyāt sārūpyāt samavāyataḥ* etc. which is slightly different from the reading given by Dr. Bhattacharya from the same work edited by Telang. The above reading of Sri Sastri is identical with the one we have in the *Locana*. Abhinavagupta refers to that verse in fact twice in his work. In the first instance the verse is fully quoted in the *Locana* under the text *bhāktam=āhus=tam=anye* of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Here the reading is *abhidheyena sāmīpyāt* etc.[7] Here Abhinavagupta does not comment upon the verse. The second instance is found in the *Locana* under *tasmād=anyo dhvaniḥ, anyā ca guṇa-vṛttiḥ* etc., of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Here the verse is quoted not at a stretch, but only in the forms of *pratīkas* on which Abhinavagupta elaborates. There the text reads:

> ...*lakṣaṇā*+ + +*pañca-vidhā*+ +*abhidheyena saṃyogāt* (*sambandhāt*) + + + *sāmīpyāt*+ + +*samavāyāt* (°*yataḥ*)+ + +*vaiparītyāt*+ + + *kriyāyogāt* etc.[8]

From this it would appear that Abhinavagupta prefers the reading *abhidheyana saṃyogāt* etc., to the other version viz., *abhidheyena sāmīpyāt* etc. Which of these two readings is better is an altogether different question. Whatever may be one's preference, this much is certain : Bhartṛmitra's verse in question betrays the fact that it is an improvement over what Patañjali had expressed on this subject in his own inimitable style. The relevant passage of Patañjali runs :

> *katham punar=atasmin sa ityetad=bhavati ?*
> *caturbhiḥ prakārair=atasmin sa ity=etad=bhavati :*
> *tātsthyāt, tāddharmyāt, tatsāmīpyāt, tatsāhacaryāt*
> *iti* etc. (See the *Mahābhāṣya*, under Pāṇini, IV, i, 48 viz. *puṃyogād=ākhyāyām*).

— S. Sankaranarayanan].

7. *Dhvanyāloka*, with com. *Locana*, *Bālapriyā*, and *Ṭippaṇī*, Chowkhambha Sanskrit Series, No. 135, (1940) p. 28 (not 218 as given in Dr. Bhattacharya's first paper).

8. Ibid. p. 153.

S.G. MOGHE

CITATIONS FROM THE KAUṬILĪYA ARTHAŚĀSTRA IN THE COMMENTARIES OF MALLINĀTHA

It is well-known that Prof. R.P. Kangle of Bombay has brought out a critical edition of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (published by the University of Bombay, 1948) basing on several manuscripts and commentaries available. It is also well-known that the famous commentator Mallinātha has quoted the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in his commentaries on the *Raghuvaṃśa* and the *Kumārasaṃbhava.* He has also quoted passages from the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* at least eleven times, and from the *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra.* In this present paper[1] an attempt is made to compare certain citations found in the commentaries of Mallinātha with the passages of the above critical edition of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* and to show how the former could prove to be an aid to purify the still corrupt text of the *Arthaśāstra* in some places.

I. At the outset it may be noted that two of the citations of Mallinātha, completely agree with the passages of the critical edition. To note this point, one may compare the quotations by Mallinātha under the *Raghuvaṃśa* III. 29, and XVII. 55,[2] respectively with the *Arthaśāstra* I.5.4 and VII. 5.27. The close agreement in these two cases will lead one to the conclusion that our commentator Mallinātha is reliable in the matter of citing the passages from the *Arthaśāstra.*

II. On another occassion it is found that Mallinātha omits a word in citing Kauṭilya. In this connection one may refer to Mallinā-

1. This paper was read at the 27th Session of the All India Oriental Conference, held at the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra, in December 1974

2. These two quotations read respectively :
kriyā hi dravyaṃ vinayati n=ādravyam=iti Kauṭilyaḥ and *atra Kauṭilyaḥ:*
Kṣīṇāḥ prakṛtayo lobhaṃ lubdhā yānti virāgatām|
viraktā yānty=amitraṃ vā bhartāraṃ ghnanti vā svayam||

tha's quotation in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* VIII. 21,[3] and compare it with that of the *Arthaśāstra* VII. 1.6.[4] It may be noticed that Mallinātha has dropped the word *tatra* in quoting Kauṭilya. Here one may reasonably infer that either the scribe of Mallinātha's manuscript has dropped the word *tatra* unconsciously or Mallinātha might have come across some other manuscript in which the above passage did not contain the word *tatra*.

III. It is only at one place, that some portion of the citation by Mallinātha is not found in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*. For this, one may refer to Mallinātha's quotation in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* XVII. 49, and compare the same with that of the *Arthaśāstra* XV. 1.63,65 and 67. It may be found that the sentence *kāryāṇāṃ niyōga-vikalpa-samuccayā bhavanti* of Mallinātha's quotation[5] is not found in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*. From this it is quite evident that a critical student of the *Arthaśāstra* cannot ignore the quotations by Mallinātha in critically editing the *Arthaśāstra*.

IV. We find only one solitary case where the reading in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* differs from that of the quotation by Mallinātha, though there is no difference between them in the meaning of the sentence. That is to say, while Mallinātha under the *Raghuvaṃśa*, IV.35 gives the reading *vaitasaṃ dharmam=ātiṣṭhet*,[6] the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* XII.1.1 has *vetasa-dharmā tiṣṭhet*. It is to be noted that in Prof. Kangle's critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* there is unfortunately no reference to the reading recorded by Mallinātha. That reading also should have been recorded as an aid to the critical study of the text of the *Arthaśāstra*.

V. It is also interesting to note that Mallinātha quotes on two occassions a certain passage from the *Arthaśāstra* and that both his quotations not only differ slightly from the passage found in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, but also differ a little from one another too. To exemplify this point one may refer to Mallinātha's commentaries on the *Raghuvaṃśa* XV 29 and on the *Kumārasaṃbhava* VI.37. In the

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3. I.e., *paṇabandhaḥ sandhiḥ iti Kauṭilyaḥ|*

4. I.e., *tatra paṇabandhaḥ sandhhi|*

5. The full quotation is :

   atra Kauṭilyaḥ : kāryāṇāṃ niyōga-vikalpa-samuccayā bhavanti| anen=aiv=opāyena n=ānyena iti niyogaḥ| anena vā anyena vā iti vikalpaḥ| anena ca iti samuccayaḥ iti|

6. The full quotation is: *atra Kauṭilyaḥ : balīyasā abhiyukto durbalaḥ sarvatr=ānupraṇīto vaitasaṃ dharmam=ātiṣṭhet.*

former place Mallinātha's quotation has *pravāheṇa*[7] and in the latter *apavāhena*[8] while in II. 1.1 of Prof. Kangle's critical edition of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* we find *apavāhanena*. It may be pointed out that *apavāhena* is very near *apavāhanēna*; and that the dropping of one *na* in the former is perhaps to be viewed as a scribal mistake. The question whether Mallinātha preferred a better reading in his commentary on the *Kumārasaṃbhava* as compared with the reading already noted in his commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* cannot be decided unless and untill the chronological position of the writings of Mallinātha is decided conclusively once for all. However the above illustrations would show that Mallinātha had with him two copies of the manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra* with two different versions.

VI. It may be noted that in one instance the citation from the *Arthaśāstra* as given by Mallinātha is not only different from the one available in the critical edition, but also is a better one in view of the context. In this regard one may refer to Mallinātha's quotation *dvividho vinayaḥ svābhāvikaḥ kṛtrimaś=c=eti Kauṭilyaḥ* in the commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* III. 36 and compare it with *dvividhaḥ .. kṛtakaś=c=eti* in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* 1.5 3. There is a vast difference between *kṛtrima* and *kṛtaka*. The word *kṛtrima* is opposite of *svābhāvika* and hence it would suit better in the context than *kṛtaka*. Thus it is evident that at times Mallinātha records better reading which deserves our consideration.

VII. It is in a single instance that the reading recorded by Mallinātha is to be preferred to the reading given in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* even from the grammatical point of view. That is to say, the reading *sandadhīta* in the citation givin by Mallinātha under the *Raghuvaṃśa* XVII. 56 is grammatical, while *sandhīyeta* in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* VII. 3.2,[9] is not so. For, the latter makes the construction of the sentence rather peculiar as *sandhīyeta* is in the Passive voice, while the other verbs in the context are in the Active voice. Of course one can bring *sandhi* under the *kaṇḍv-ādigaṇa*, which is after all an *ākṛti-gaṇa*, (i.e. a list of specimens — not exhaustive — belonging to a particular grammatical rule) and can thus have *sandhīyeta* in the Active voice also by the application of the rule *Kaṇḍvādibhyo yak* (Pāṇini, III. 1.27). If however one is not inclined

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7. I.e. *atra Kauṭilyaḥ: bhūta-pūrvam abhūta-pūrvaṃ vā janapadaṁ paradeśa-pravāheṇa svadeś-ābhiṣyanda-vamanena vā niveśayet iti* | under the *Raghuvaṃśa, XV, 29.*

8. I.e. *Ubhayatr=api Kauṭilyaḥ: bhūta.........apavāhena......niveśayet iti* | under the *Kumārasaṃbhava* VI. 37. The reading *apavādena* for *apavāhena* found in some of the editions of the commentary is obviously wrong.

9. I.e. *sama-jyāyobhyāṃ sandhīyeta. hīnena vigṛhṇīyāt* |

towards grammatical hair-splitting discussions, one may better adopt the reading of Mallinātha to overcome the difficulty of the peculiar construction of the sentence, pointed out earlier.

VIII. At one place, however, it is detected that Mallinātha has either missed the spirit of the passage of the *Arthaśāstra* or has not understood it in the sense in which the learned Prof. Kangle has understood it. In his commentary on the *Raghuvaṃśa* XVII. 76, Mallinātha seems to prefer the reading *parān sandadhyāt*[10] to *atisandadhyāt* found in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra* VII. 15.5. Further he explains *parābhisandhāna* of *Kālidāsa* in the *Raghuvaṃśa* XVII. 76 as *śatruvañcana* or cheating one's enemies[11] and then quotes Kauṭilya's above passage. But it may be noted that the context in the *Arthaśāstra* simply shows that a king should stay joining forces with kings inferior in strength to face the strong king whom he would not over-reach with powers of counsel, might and energy. Here the question of cheating does not at all arise. Hence we are constrained to hold that on this point at issue the citation given by Mallinātha can hardly be accepted in view of the grounds set forth above Thus the present instance would suggest that one has to be very cautious while accepting Mallinātha's reading.

IX. Here I take this opportunity of rectifying my own remark passed in the Summaries of papers, p.103 of the 27th Session of the All India Oriental Conference of 1974. The two citations from the *Arthaśāstra* as available in the commentary of an Anonymous Commentator on the *Śākuntala* (published by the Kerala University) can also be traced in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*. At two places this commentator qoutes from the *Arthaśāstra*. On page 72, the readings *lubdhakaiḥ* for *lubdhaka* and *lakṣa* for *lakṣya* given by the commentator are also found recorded in the foot-notes by Prof. Kangle in his critical edition under I.21.29. These readings are said to be found in the Grantha and Malayālam manuscripts of the *Arthaśāstra*. But the reading *mṛgayāraṇyam*[12] of the commentator for *mṛgāraṇyam* is not found recorded in the critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*. Similarly the Anonymous Commentator also quotes, on page 156 from the *Arthaśāstra* and this quotation[13] is in complete agreement with the critical edition IV.3.43.

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10. I.e. *mantra-prabhāv-otsāha-śaktibhiḥ parān sandadhyāt iti Kauṭilyaḥ* |

11. Cf. *parātisandhāna* used in the same sense in the *Śākuntala*, Act V; and *atisandhāya* 'having cheated' in the *Mālatīmādhava*, Act. I.

12. The complete quotation in the commentary in question runs: *lubdhakaiḥ śvagaṇibhir=apāsta-stena-parābādha-bhayaṃ calalakṣa-paricayārthaṁ mṛgay-āraṇyaṁ gacchet.*

13. The quotation runs: *sarvatr=opahatān pit=ev=ānugṛhṇīyāt.*

From what we have discussed so far it would thus be clear that for a critical edition of the *Arthaśāstra*, the secondary sources, like the quotations found in the commentaries of Mallinātha and others also are of supreme importance.

[**Editorial Note:** In the above learned paper Dr S.G. Moghe has compared the quotations from the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* (KA) found in commentaries of Mallinātha (M) on the *Raghuvaṃśa* (R) and the *Kumāra-saṃbhava* (K) on one hand, and their cognate passages found in the critical edition of the KA. He has also shown how the former are very important for the serious students of the critical text of the KA. In this context the following observations may be necessary.

Regarding the point II of Dr. Moghe it may be stated that the word *tatra* is quite essential in the KA in the context where the passage in question occurs while that would be totally incongruous in M's commentary in the context it is quoted.

Coming to the III point, one should bear in mind that in the last section of KA, viz, section XV, which Dr. Moghe speaks of in this connection, the *niyoga*, *vikalpa* and *samuccaya* are included respectively as the 29th, 30th and the 31st items in the list of 32 *tantra-yuktis* or the points of skill-ful methodology of the learned treatise. In that context the sentence *kāryāṇāṃ niyoga-vikalpa-samuccayā bhavanti* would be completely irrelevant. The passage *tat-siṣeve niyogena sa vikalpa-parāṅ-mukhaḥ* in the R, of course contains the words *niyōga and vikalpa*, But they may not denote the *tantrayuktis* of that names mentioned in the KA. For, even M himself takes *vikalpa* as a synonym of *saṃśaya* which is in fact, denotes yet another (i.e. the 14th) *tantrayukti* as we find in the KA. Besides in the section XV, the KA however speaks of the *niyoga*, *vikalpa* and *samuccaya* together in other places also which Dr. Moghe has unfortunately missed. e.g. we have in the KA, texts reading *guru-lāghava-yogāc=ca āpadāṃ niyoga-vikalpa-samuccayā bhavanti*/ "*anen=aiv=opāyena n=ānyena*" *iti niyogaḥ*/ "*anena vā anyena vā*" *iti vikalpaḥ*/ "*anena ca anyena ca*" *iti samuccayaḥ*/ (IX, 7, 73-76) Elsewhere also the KA reads *vikram-āntareṣu ca niyoga-vikalpa-samuccayaiś=ca upāyā-nāṁ siddim lipseta* (XIII, 4.13) and *niyoga-vikalpa-samuccayais=c=opāyāṃnām=anantar-aikāntarāḥ prakṛtiḥ sādhayet* (VII. 16.4). But here in these last two places the KA does not explain *niyoga* etc. However all these may be nearer to M's quotation under study. But Kālidāsa's text as explained by M himself does not seem to have any bearing on these passages too. Hence it is not very clear why M quotes Kauṭilya at all.

Turning to the point V, the following is to be understood clearly. M quotes from the KA the passage in question in his commentaries both

on R. XV.29 of which the second half reads *svargābhiṣyanda-vamanaṃ kṛtv=ev=opaniveśitā* and on the K. VI, 37 which too has the same second half, the only difference here being - *upaniveśitam* instead of -*veśitā*. In both the cases Kālidāsa has employed the expression -*abhiṣyanda-vamana* in a special sense as we find it being used in the passage of the KA quoted by M thereunder. That is all. In fact Kālidāsa's above verses have no other bearing on the given quotation from the KA.

As far as the VI point is concerned there appears to be no vast difference between the meanings of *kṛtrima* and *kṛtaka*. In fact M himself has explained *akṛtaka-vidhi* (R XVIII, 52) as *akṛtrima-sampādanam*.

With regard to the point VII, it may be noted that *sandhīyeta* seems to have been used in the active sense more than once in the KA (See e.g. KA. VII. 3. 2, 13 and 15) though of course one may have to find out one way or other in grammar to justify that usage. Can one venture to suggest that *saṃ dhi* (of the Fourth or *Divādi gaṇa*) may be a synonym of *saṁ dhā* (of the Second or *Adādi gaṇa*, and that *sandhīyeta* may be derived from the former. Of course the KA has *sandadhīta* too in many places (VII. 1.3; VII. 15.17; IX. 4. 41; X. 3. 55; etc).

In the VIII instance Dr. Moghe himself has shown how M has probably gone wrong. In fact the passage of the KA under study contains *na* (i.e. *Yān na mantra-prabhāva-* etc.), It is really intriguing why M should have omitted that important *na*.

Thus a close study of M's quotations from the KA may lead one to a doubt whether M had had with him a complete text of the KA. Perhaps he had some stray floating passages only that were popularly known as Kauṭilya's sayings and were transmitted by oral tradition. This perhaps explains why that versatile eommentator M looks strange often in the case of quotations from Kauṭilya. The probability that M might not have had with him a complete text of the KA seems to have been indicated to some extent also by the fact that so far no manuscript of the KA seems to have been found in Andhra Pradesh, the home country of M. In this regard it may be good to bear in mind that manuscripts of the KA have been discovered in Kerala and that the Anonymous Commentator of the *Śākuntala*, most probably a Keralite, has quoted the text of the KA as we find them in the critical edition - a phenomenon to which Dr. Moghe has happily drawn our attention.

Before concluding it is good to bear in mind one more point. A study of M's commentaries on the *Kirātārjunīya* (XI. 76) and on the *Śiśupālavadha* (I, 42) would show that he had earlier completed his commentaries on Kālidāsa's works. But at the same time M does not

seem to quote in the commentaries of his on the above mentioned two *kāvyas* though they contain the ideas of the KA in greater measure, than the R and K do. Does not this fact also suggest that M did not possess a complete text of the KA wherefrom he could suitably and conveniently quote in these later commentaries?

— S. Sankaranarayanan]

V.V. MIRASHI

A NEW THEORY ABOUT THE LIFE AND DATE OF KĀLIDĀSA EXAMINED

In 1976 a set of four Volumes was presented to Shrimati Indira Gandhi by the Indira Gandhi Abhinandan Samiti under the title of The Spirit of India (*Bhārata-Vāṇi*). Vol. II of this set contains learned articles on various subjects by eminent scholars. When we received this Volume, the articale "New Light on Kālidāsa" by S.V. Sohoni at once attracted our attention

Sohoni is a critical and imaginative researcher of Sanskrit literature and ancient Indian history. He often wondered how Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* ended with the description of the debauchee king Agnivarṇa's death from consumption in flagrant contrast to the declaration of the Poet in the beginning of the work that he would describe the noble lives of the descendants of Raghu. Only nineteen cantos of the *Raghuvaṃśa* are now extant. But S.P. Pandit stated many years ago in his critical edition of the work that six more cantos were in the possession of a Pandit in Indore. They have not, however, been published so far. Some years ago Sohoni obtained an off-print of Dr. S. Paranvitana's article[1] 'Traditions about Kālidāsa which were prevalent in Śrī-Vijaya' from a friend in Śrī-Laṅkā. He noticed there in the statement that Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* does not end with the nineteenth canto but has six more cantos in a MS in Śrī-Vijaya. This confirmed his conjecture, and so he has given Dr. Paranvitana's article *in extenso* at the end of his own in the aforementioned *Abhinandana Grantha*. The information about Kālidāsa's life and date given therein is very interesting, and, if true, very important for the knowledge of our *Rāṣṭra-kavi*. So it is proposed to give it *in extenso* and then examine it critically.

1. Sohoni has mentioned this article in a foot-note at the end of his article, but has not cited the reference of the periodical where it was published.

In a library at Śrī-Vijaya or Suvarṇapura (now known as Sumātrā) there exists a manuscript of Cantos XX to XXV of the *Raghuvaṃśa*, which shows the relation of the Gupta king Kumāragupta I with the Ikṣvāku race. Unfortunately, the MS. is still unpublished. Sohoni says that when it will be published, it will throw very important light on the history of the Guptas and the life of Kālidāsa.

King Parākramabāhu VI of Śrī-Lankā, who flourished in the fifteenth Century A.D., collected the traditions about Kālidāsa which were then current among the Pandits of Śrī-Vijaya and prepared an account of Kālidāsa (*Kālidāsa-vṛttānta*) and got it engraved as a palimpsest in the following five places in his kingdom. As the Buddhist monks of the age were against engraving it, he got it incised between the lines of other inscriptions in smaller letters. Paranvitana read that *vṛttānta* with great perseverance and labour, and translated it into English. Sohoni has given this English rendering at the end of his article.

The places, where this *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* has been engraved and the periodicals in which it has been published, have been given by Paranvitana as follows :

(1) On a slab which had been attributed by D.M. Adez Wikremasinghe to Mahinda IV (middle of A.D. tenth century), vide *Epigraphia Zeylonica* (*EZ*), Vol. I, No. 20.

(2) On Ellavav Pillar Inscription of Dāpula IV (end of the ninth Century A.D.) vide *EZ*, Vol. V, No. 35.

(3) On the Inscribed slab No.M 111 kept in the Anurādhapura Museum.

(4) On the inscribed pillar now kept standing on the foot of the flight.

(5) On the rock inscription at Rājagala (vide No. 42 of Appendix I in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1961-62).

Paranvitana has given an English rendering of the *vṛttānta* prepared by Parākramabāhu. It has been given by Sohoni at the end of his article. The same is produced below for the information of the readers.

"Kālidāsa's father was a Brāhmin; his mother was a Vaiśya lady. When Kālidāsa was four years of age, his father left his mother. Kālidāsa was brought up by his mother. When he was seven years of age, Kālidāsa's mother went to the Master of the Sanskrit school at Ujjayinī, gave him presents and requested him to teach Sanskrit to her

son. The master told her that all the pupils in his school were Brāhmin boys, and if a Vaiśya boy was admitted in their midst, he would experience great difficulties. There was also no gain that would come a Vaiśya's way by acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit He, therefore, advised Kālidāsa's mother to entrust the education of her son to the master of the Vaiśya school so that Kālidāsa would acquire such lore as would be appropriate to a Vaiśya. Kālidāsa's mother went with her son to meet the master of the Vaiśya school, and, having told him that her son was bent on learning Sanskrit, inquired whether the master could teach him that language. Now, the master of the Vaiśya school too was highly proficient in Sanskrit, and therefore, accepted Kālidāsa as his pupil for teaching the boy Sanskrit Kālidāsa applied himself assiduosly to his studies and, in due time, acquired a good knowledge of the Sanskrit language with its grammar and lexicon, the art of versifying, the poetic art, the dramatic art, logic, philosophy, and various other arts and sciences.

"Kālidāsa, now in youthful manhood, inquired from his teacher whether there was any profession that he could pursue as a means of livelihood. The teacher saw his friend, the chief bard (*sūta-pramukha*) of the palace, told the latter about Kālidāsa, and enquired if the youth could be enrolled in his company of bards. The chief bard, having obtained the approval of the Emperor Kumāragupta, employed Kālidāsa as an apprentice bard (*sūta-navaka*) Having served as apprentice for seven months, Kālidāsa was appointed as a bard (*sūta*).

"Thereafter in the early morning and at night every day, Kālidāsa, in the company of other bards, stood in front of the bed-chamber of Emperor Kumāragupta and recited verses. Kālidāsa found that the verses recited were not beautiful. He, therefore, composed some verses himself, and handed them to the chief bard. The latter found them very charming, trained the other bards also to recite them, and had them recited so as to be heard by Kumāragupta. The Emperor liked these verses, and inquired from the chief bard about their source. The chief bard informed the Emperor that those verses were the composition of the new bard named Kālidāsa. Kumāragupta ordered the chief bard to recite other verses by Kālidāsa, if there were any. Kālidāsa composed some more verses, which were also duly recited to be heard by Kumāragupta. Having listened to them Kumāragupta sent for Kālidāsa, complimented him on the excellence of the verses composed by him, and inquired if Kālidāsa could write a drama, Kālidāsa replied in the affirmative, and shortly after he attracted royal notice, started on the play entitled *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Having completed the drama, he sent a copy of it to the Emperor through the chief bard. Kumāragupta gave Kālidāsa's work to the poets of Royal Sabhā to be read and evaluated.

The opinion of the poets was highly favourable to Kālidāsa. Kumāragupta, having received that opinion, ordered the production of the play. Those who were privileged to see the first production of a play by Kālidāsa were unanimously of opinion that the *Mālavikāgnimitra* was a drama of more than ordinary poetic and dramatic quality. Kālidāsa produced a second play, *Vikramorvaśīya*, which was also well received. Kālidāsa, having composed his third play, *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, sent it to Kumāragupta through the chief bard, stating that this work of his excelled the other two. The Emperor ordered the production of *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, and the select company of royalty and grandees who saw its first performance exclaimed that they had never before seen a drama so replete with *rasa* and that the poetic genius of Kālidāsa was of a rare order. Kālidāsa was the recipient of costly presents from the Emperor, the feudatory kings, ministers and other grandees. Kumāragupta gave Kālidāsa a place among the poets of his court. Kālidāsa became affluent and, having espoused a young lady of his social status, was leading a happy and contented life.

"The chief bard was overcome with jealousy when he reflected that Kālidāsa, who was brought to the notice of the Emperor through him, was occupying a higher position at the court than that of himself, and thought out a plan to bring about Kālidāsa's downfall. He suggested to Kālidāsa to compose a *Mahākāvya* on the birth of Skandakumāra, according to the legend given in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as an allegory on the birth of Kumāragupta. Such a poem, he thought, would delight Kumāragupta. Kālidāsa was himself at that time in search of a theme for a Mahākāvya; he, therefore, acted on the suggestion of the chief bard, and having composed Cantos I–VII of the *Kumārasaṃbhava*, gave them to the chief bard to read. The chief bard congratulated Kālidāsa on his achievement thus far, and enquired whether the poem was to end with canto seven, which closes with the entering of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Kautukāgāra*. Kālidāsa replied that it was not so, but that he was considering how best to deal with the *Rāmāyaṇa* account of what took place in the *Kautukāgāra* after Śiva and Pārvatī entered it. The chief bard suggested that the theme be dealt with on the basis of Kālidāsa's own experience when he entered the *Kautukāgāra* for the first time in his life. Kālidāsa accepted the suggestion, and the eighth canto of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* was the result. The chief bard, after having read this, said to himself that the canto was highly poetic indeed, but was most inappropriate.

"He saw Emperor Kumāragupta and informed His Majesty that Kālidāsa had begun a *Mahākāvya* on the birth of Skandakumāra as an allegory on His Majesty's own birth, and explained how Kālidāsa had dealt with the theme in the eighth canto "If the poem is meant to be

an allegory on the birth of your Majesty, the conduct of Śiva and Pārvatī as described in the eighth canto would be the conduct of the parents of your Majesty. The depiction of the parents of your Majesty in that position is likely to cause loss of respect in the people towards the parents of Your Majesty. If they lose respect towards the parents of Your Majesty, they would also lose the respect that they entertain towards Your Majesty." So saying, the chief bard began weeping. Asked by Kumāragupta why he was weeping, he replied that his weeping was because of the love he had for His Majesty, and that was caused unintentionally when he thought of the ill-disciplined nature of Kālidāsa. "Your Majesty is the best judge in this matter." So saying he took leave of Kumāragupta and went home, evidently leaving with the Emperor the eighth canto of the *Kumārasaṃbhava*.

"After having read the eighth canto of the *Kumārāsaṃbhava* Kumāragupta summoned Kālidāsa., told him what the chief bard had brought to the notice of His Majesty, and enquired whether it was true. Kālidāsa replied that it was true, but he had himself realised later that the eighth canto of the *Mahākāvya* that he was composing was inappropriate, and had decided to burn it as soon as he got it back from the chief bard. Kumāragupta told Kālidāsa that it should not be burnt, that it might in the future be a text for those studying the *Kāmasūtra*, and he had ordered all the eight cantos of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* to be kept in the royal library. He further stated that the legend of the birth of Skandakumāra was not a suitable theme for a *Mahākāvya*; therefore *Kumārasaṃbhava* should not be proceeded with any further.

"The Emperor then stated that a complaint had been made to him that Kālidāsa had been guilty of an impropriety. One who has committed an improper action should not be admitted to the royal assembly. Kālidāsa himself had admitted his guilt, But in the three previous works of Kālidāsa there was nothing improper or indiscreet. Therefore it would be a sufficient punishment for Kālidāsa to be debarred from entry to the king's *Sabhā* for a period of one year. Kālidāsa could spend this period in travel abroad, and broaden his knowledge. Kumāragupta advised him to visit the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

"Kālidāsa took leave of the Emperor, came home, arranged for his wife to remain with her father, and started on his travels. After having spent seven months in visiting various regions of the south, he arrived at Rāmagiri at the beginning of the rainy season. When he was immersed in thought as to how he could spend the remaining five months of his exile, he saw a rain cloud on the top of the mountain, and the theme of the *Meghadūta* flashed to his mind. After having composed this poem, he sent a copy to Kumāragupta, who read it and rejoiced that

he had made Kālidāsa compose an immortal poem. At this juncture he came to know from his spies that the eighth canto of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* was composed by Kālidāsa at the suggestion of the chief bard. Kumāragupta dismissed the chief bard from his office, which he decided to give to Kālidāsa. He sent a message to Kālidāsa, stating that Kālidāsa now had permission to enter Ujjayinī and the royal assembly.

"Having received this message. Kālidāsa lost no time in returning to Ujjayinī. He visited his wife and consoled her, Then he saw Kumāragupta and expressed his pleasure at being able to serve His Majesty once again. Kumāragupta invited Kālidāsa to compose a *Mahākāvya* on his own descent from the Ikṣvāku race as the theme. Kālidāsa accepted this request and composed the *Raghuvaṃśa* in twenty-five cantos".

After giving this *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta in extenso*, Sohoni has remarked that "it is a far more serious statement than a version based on mere traveller tale." He does not, however, accept that Kālidāsa was a Vaiśya. He thinks it most important that in this *vṛttānta* Kālidāsa is described as a contemporary of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta; for the statement was made as far back as the fifteenth century A.D. when we had no information at all about the Gupta Kings. He rejoiced to read in it that the *Raghuvaṃśa* had twenty-five cantos; for after a prolonged study of that *Mahākāvya* he had come to the conclusion that it could not have ended with the nineteenth canto.

The *vṛttānta* says that Kumāragupta had asked Kālidāsa to describe his decent from the Ikṣvāku race. Sohoni thinks that the unpublished MS. in Śrī-Vijaya must have contained such an account. But in that case, how is it that the Guptas are described as of the lunar race in a later inscription?[2] To this question Sohoni's answer is as follows: Kumāragupta must have belonged to the solar race not through his father but through his mother She was Dhruvasvāminī, the Crowned Queen of Candragupta II. One of her seals has been discovered in the excavations at Vaiśālī. She seems to be connected with the Licchavis of that city. The latter proudly trace their descent from the solar race. Kumāragupta seems to have connected himself with the solar race through his mother Dhruvasvāminī. So he asked Kālidāsa to compose a *Mahākāvya* describing his descent from the Ikṣvāku race.

When we read this *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta*, it appeared imaginary like the *ākhyayikās* about Kālidāsa in the *Bhojaprabandha*. Though S.P. Pandit has recorded a belief that a MS of the *Raghuvaṃśa* in the

2. *Bombay Gazetteer* (old ed.), Vol. I, part ii, p. 578.

possession of a Pandit at Indore contains twenty-five cantos, it has not yet been published. That such a MS. exists in far-off Śrī-Vijaya is hard to believe. Had it really existed, it would surely have come to light by now. We think that the *Raghuvaṃśa* has remained incomplete on account of the poet's premature death.

Is the remaining account given by Paranvitana true? He says that it has been engraved as a palimpsest between the lines of some other inscriptions because the monks of Śrī-Laṅkā would not allow it to be engraved otherwise. This is hard to believe. The monks who objected to its engraving on fresh slabs must have also objected to its being engraved as a palimpsest. So this appears to be a fake account. But Paranvitana has given in his article exact references to the periodicals in which the account is published. How can this be completely false?

We decided to verify the statement of Paranvitana about the places where the *vṛttānta* is said to have been engraved and the journals where it is stated to have been published. So we inquired of Sohoni's friend Dr. Godakumbaura, who had sent Sohoni an off-print of Paranvitana's article. But we received no reply from him. The periodicals where the *vṛttānta* has been published according to Paranvitana are publications of the Archaeological Department of Śrī-Laṅkā. So we next wrote to the commissioner of the Archaeological Department of Śrī-Laṅkā by Air Mail and inquired if the *vṛttānta* was really engraved at the five places as stated by Paranvitana. When we did not get any reply for nearly two months, a friend suggested that we should try to get the information from the High Commissioner of India in Śrī-Laṅkā. That also was done. The only result of it was that the High Commissioner sent a copy of our letter to the Commissioner of Archaeology and asked for the information, and sent a copy of his letter to us for information. But there was no response to it for some months. So we thought of writing to Dr. Kowur of Śrī-Laṅkā, who has recently challenged God-men to prove their miraculous powers But our letter has not been replied to till now. Then an idea struck us that the publications of the Archaeological Department of Śrī-Laṅkā must have been received in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist at Mysore. So we requested our friend Dr. G.S. Gai, Retired Chief Epigraphist, to verify the statement of Paranvitana from the records cited by him. He kindly examined the periodicals and informed us that the *vṛttānta* has not been noticed in any of those periodicals. Still, our mind was not satisfied until we verified the matter from personal inspection of the periodicals in question. So we requested the Director General of Archaeological Survey, New Delhi, to send us on loan *Epigraphia Zeylonica*, Vols. I and V, and the *Administrative Report* of the Archaeological Commissioner, Śrī-Laṅkā for 1961-62. He very kindly complied with our

request. On referring to them, we nowhere noticed the *vṛttānta*. O in the *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. V, p. 373, it is stated that in the Elavevā inscr tion of King Dāpula, there appears some matter written between lines,[3] which seems to be of the thirteenth century A D. In a note the same page it is stated that according to Paranvitana the later writi is an account of King Magha of Kaliṅga (A.D. 1215 - 1236). The sa Paranvitana now asserts that it is *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* caused to be e graved by Parākramabāhu VI who flourished in the fifteenth century A. In neither case has he given a transcript of it. In no other place is a writing noticed between the lines of the original inscription. So Para vitana's statement that the *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* compiled by Parākram bāhu VI is inscribed in the five places mentioned above is a flagrant l How he dared to make such a false statement passes our comprehensio

That there were some *ākhyāyikās* about Kālidāsa current amo the people of Śrī-Laṅkā is, no doubt, true. At the first session of t All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919, Dr. Sati Chandra Vidyabhushan read an interesting paper on the Funeral Pla of Kālidāsa, which has been printed in the *Proceedings* of that sessio Vol. I, pp. 162–63. There in Dr. S.C. Vidyabhushan says that eve now the place where Kālidāsa's body was cremated is still shown in t Matar District in South Ceylon where the river Kirindī joins the se He also stated that the *ākhyāyikā* was prevalent in other parts Ceylon and is mentioned in the Ceylonese work *Parākramabāhu-caritr* which is more than five centuries old.

There is also another tradition about Kālidāsa and Kumāradās king of Ceylon. It is said that Kālidāsa, during his visit to his roya friened, took his abode with a hetaera in Ceylon, who, out of greed f a valuable prize announced by Kumāradāsa for *samasyā-pūrti*, kille Kālidāsa. We have shown in our Kālidāsa that the *Ākhyāyikā* coul not have had any historical basis.

We are not inclined to take as true the *Kālidāsa-vṛttānt* published by Paranvitana. It seems to have been compiled by some on who has good knowledge of Sanskrit literature and ancient India history. The reasons for this view are identical with those for holdin the *Ayyaṇa-vaṃśa-carita* as a fake work.

According to Paranvitana, Parākramabāhu VI of Śrī-Laṅkā collec ted the *ākhyāyikās* about Kālidāsa's life which were current in Śrī-Vijaya and prepared a *vṛttānta* which he got engraved at five places as palimpsests in his kingdom. According to that *vṛttānta*, Kālidāsa was

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3. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta also has been disfigured by subsequent scribbling.

a court-poet of Kumāragupta I. The main objection against this statement is that in the fifteenth century A.D. when Parākramabāhu VI lived, none had any knowledge about Kumāragupta I even in India, much less in Śrī-Laṅkā. There is a total lack of historical works in Sanskrit, the only exception being the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa. Several great kings like Samudragupta, Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I, and Skandagupta flourished in the fourth and fifth century A.D. They had extensive empires. They performed *Aśvamedha* sacrifices and protected the country against foreign invaders. But not even one of them is mentioned in the Sanskrit literature of the time. What we now know about them has been gathered by the persistent labour of several scholars who have studied and published ancient inscriptions. For instance, it was in 1834 that Captain Troyer first attempted to read the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. Some inscriptions of Kumāragupta I were first discovered in the period from A.D. 1873 to 1880, when the name of that Gupta king became known. So it is not at all likely that five centuries ago Parākramabāhu knew the relation of Kumāragupta I and Kālidāsa as well as the names of the authentic works of Kālidāsa. Much less could this information have been current in distant country of Śrī-Vijaya.

So this *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* must have been compiled by some one who had good knowledge of the progress made during the last century and a half in the knowledge of ancient Indian history. He must also have been conversant with ancient Sanskrit rhetorical works as shown below.

It is now universally admitted that only the first eight cantos of the *Kumārasaṃbhava* are genuine.[4] The subsequent nine cantos were added by some later poet in order to complete the work. Mallinātha's commentary is only on the first eight cantos. The reason for Kālidāsa not completing the work is conjectured to be the description of the *saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra* of Śiva and Pārvatī in the eighth canto. Aruṇagirinātha states that the work remained incomplete by the curse of Pārvatī who was enraged by the description of *saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra* in the eighth canto. This very reason is very beautifully suggested by Ravindranath Tagore in the following poem[5]–.

When you chanted, poet, to the god and goddess,
Śiva and Pārvatī, the song of the birth of Kārttika,
All round stood the ghostly attendants; on the mountain crest
Descended slow the peaceful evening clouds.

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4. See our *Kālidāsa*. p. 130ff.

5. This poem of Ravindranath Tagore was originally in Bengali. Its English rendering was published in the *Modern Review* of June 1932, from which this extract has been taken.

The lightning did not play, the thunder was mute,
Kārttika's peacock lowering its tail
Stood quietly by the side of Pārvatī,
Curving its lifted neck; sometimes in a gentle smile
Trembled the lips of the goddess; anon a long sigh
Was breathed unnoticed; again. the swelling tears
Appeared at the corner of the eyes; when at length
Confused shame descended silently
On her lowered eyelids, you, poet, glancing at the goddess
Suddenly stopped your unfinished song

Tagore, has addressed his poem to Kālidāsa. The gist of it may be summarised as follows "O Prince of Poets! When you described her meeting with Śiva, Pārvatī's face glowed with a smile. But the next moment, when Śiva burnt Cupid by the flame from his third eye, she heaved long sighs of grief. Next her eyes were filled with tears when you described the lamentations of Rati. But soon thereafter when you began to describe the *saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra*, she felt abashed, her eyes being greatly agitated. When you saw it, O great Poet! you stopped your sweet song, incomplete as it was."

In this beautiful poem the poet has suggested the same reason for the *Kumārasaṃbhava* remaining incomplete. The remaining parts of this *vṛttānta* it is easy to conjecture. Some people think that in the *Meghadūta* Kālidāsa has given expression to his own pangs of separation from his wife. The reason for sending him to Dakṣiṇāpatna is the identification of Rāmagiri of the *Meghadūta* with Rāmṭek near Nāgpur propounded by us in sevaral articles during last four decades. The reason for Kālidāsa's banishment must have been suggested by the following passage in the *Dhvanyāloka* of Ānandavardhana. —

> Tasmād=abhiney-ārthe ca kāvye yad=
> uttama-prakṛterāj-āder=uttama-prakṛitibhir=
> nāyikābhiḥ saha grāmya-sambhoga-varṇanaṃ tat=
> pitroḥ saṃbhoga-varṇanam=iva sutarām=
> asahyam / Tath=aiv=
> ottama-devatā-viṣayam /[6]

6. *Dhvanyāloka* (Haridasa Sanskrit Grantha-mala). p. 216. [In fact the theory of impropriety of Kālidāsa's description of *Devīsambhoga* in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* seems to be of date much later than the date of Ānandavardhana. Cf. *mahā-kavīnām-api uttama-devatā-viṣaya-prasiddha-saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra-nibandhan-ādyanaucityaṃ śakti-tiraskṛtatvāt grāmyatvena na pratibhāsate / yathā Kumārasaṃbhave Devī-saṃbhoga-varṇanam* / (Ibid. Chowkhamba Ed. 1940, p. 317). Probably the author of the fabricated "*Kālidāsavṛttānta*" was not aware of the above passage and hence took clue from the passage quoted by

This passage must have supplied the hint for what the chief bard is supposed to have said to Kumāragupta I. Ānandavardhana says that the description of the *saṃbhoga-śṛṅgāra* of the Uttama-devatās (Śiva and Pārvatī) should produce in the reader's mind as much disgust as that of the same *śṛṅgāra* of his own parents. The chief bard is supposed to point out the same impropriety to Kumāragupta in order to prejudice his mind against Kālidāsa.

The foregoing discussion leads us to the conclusion that it was probably Paranvitana himself who concocted this *Kālidāsa-vṛittānta*. The information we have gathered about Paranvitana makes this conjecture highly probable. He held the position of the Commissioner of the Archaeological Department in Śrī-Laṅkā from 1940 to 1956. He has edited the Brāhmī inscriptions of Śrī-Laṅkā. After retirement from service he was Emeritus Professor in the University of Śrī-Laṅkā till his death at the ripe old age of 80 recently.

It is difficult to solve the riddle why such a learned scholar should misuse his learning in compiling a fake account of Kālidāsa. A friend suggested that he must have become senile due to old age; but there is a method in his senility as in the madness of Hamlet. Perhaps, he was motivated by the ambition to be regarded as the propounder of new theory about the date of Kālidāsa He got several suggestions for his theory from different sources. The verses at the end of the fifth canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* which were recited by bards to awaken Prince Aja in his camp at Kuṇḍinapura are regarded as unparalleled. They must have provided the clue to make Kālidāsa a bard. If he was to be described as a Vaiśya, he must be shown to be born of an *a-savarṇa* union.[7] So he is described as the son of a Brāhmaṇa father and a Vaiśya mother, As for the reason of his exile, the clue for it must have been provided by Ānandavardhana's comments cited above. As stated before, some people understand the theme of the *Meghadūta* to be autobiographical. So Kālidāsa has been sent to Rāmagiri, and as this place is in the Deccan, the poet was advised to travel in the Dakshiṇāpatha That Kālidāsa flourished in the Gupta age is now admitted by most scholars. For the

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Prof. V.V. Mirashi, and from the views of the recent scholars, poets etc. like poet Tagore. Similarly the relative chronology of Kālidāsa's dramas suggested in the so called *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* is also perhaps due to the modern critical study of Indian Literature — S. Sankaranarayanan]

7. The offsprings of Brāhmaṇa father and a Kṣatriya or Vaiśya mother were classed as Kṣatriya or Vaiśya respectively. Hence in the first Act of the *Śākuntala* Duṣyanta hopes that Śakuntalā might be the daughter of Kaṇva by an *a-savarṇa* wife. [For a parallel instance found in epigraphs see Dr. D.C. Sircar's paper below. But cf. *Manu*, X, 8, *Yājñavalkya*, I, 90–91 -S. Sankaranarayanan].

novelty of his theory Paranvitana seems to have made him a court-poet of Kumāragupta I. This also helped him in finding a reason for his exile on account of the impropriety in the description of the *śṛṅgāra* of Śiva and Pārvatī in the *Kumārasaṃbhava*.

So this *Kālidāsā-vṛttānta* is as fake as the *Ayyaṇa-vaṃśa-charita*[8] of Śyāmabhaṭṭa. It is not as old as the fifteenth century A.D. It has evidently been compiled by Paranvitana deriving clues for it from Sanskrit rhetorical works and the knowledge of ancient Indian history accumulated by modern research. He has also added much to these by his own fertile imagination. The *vṛttānta* does not stand critical scrutiny.

We cannot believe that a Ms. of the *Raghuvaṃśa* of twentyfive cantos still exists unpublished in the country of Śrī-Vijaya. Paranvitana's statement that it describes Kumāragupta's connection with the solar race is equally unbelievable. Kālidāsa has not mentioned his patron king in any of his works.[9] It is incredible that he swerved from this policy in his last work. References to *Sūrya-vaṃśa* and *Candra-vaṃśa* occur in very late records. We do not notice them in the records of the Gupta age. There is no evidence that Dhruvasvāminī belonged to the Licchavi family of Vaiśālī. Like some ancient queens,[10] she was administering a division of the Gupta kingdom, viz., that round Vaiśālī[11] Hence her seal has been found at Vaiśālī There is no evidence that the Licchavis considered themselves as of the solar race.

Like the play *Yajñaphala* ascribed to Bhāsa, the *Kṛṣṇa carita* supposed to be of Samudragupta, and the *Ayyaṇa-vaṃśa-carita* said to have been composed by Śyāmabhaṭṭa, this *Kālidāsa-vṛttānta* compiled by Parākramabāhu is a fake work. Sanskrit scholars and learned researchers should not indulge in such forgeries. They cannot deceive all people for all time. Truth will come out sooner or later. The propagators of such fake works and baseless theories would do well to desist from such attempts.[12]

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8. See our *Literary and Historical Studies in Indology*, pp. 256 f.

9. Only in the *Vikramorvaśīya* he has obliquely referred to his patron Vikramāditya by means of a pun on *vikrama*

10. For instance, the queen Candralekhā of peerless beauty was administering some territory in the empire of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Cālukya dynasty.

11. *Archaelogical Survey Report*, 1903–04, pp. 101 f.

12. About two months after this article was prepared and typed, we received, through the Indian High Commissioner in Ceylon, a copy of the letter dated 17-2-1977, of the Archeological Commissioner of Śrī-Laṅkā in which he says, "The department finds it difficult to agree with Dr. Paranavitana due to lack of demonstrable scientific evidence to prove the very existence of these 'inter-linear' writings."

M. ARUNACHALAM

THE PORTRAIT OF MANTHARĀ

The main theme of the Rāmāyaṇa is the slaying of Rāvaṇa in order to establish the rule of *dharma* on earth and incidentally to help the Devas. To achieve this purpose, it has become an epic necessity to banish Rāma into the forest, resulting in the carrying away of Sītā to Laṇkā by Rāvaṇa so that Rāvaṇa might incur the wrath of Rāma and there by bring about his own downfall. To accomplish this necessity, Mantharā serves as a goad to instigate Kaikeyī to get Rāma banished. Though Mantharā appears important in this small context, and her goading crucial, the narrative can go on without her and the banishment effected.

But it is the portraiture of this hunchbacked woman in the epic that has made her a household word all over the country ('Kūṇi disrupts the family' is a familiar proverb in the Tamil language) and has also made her appear as though she is an indispensable part of the story. Now we shall examine this portraiture by the Sanskrit *Ādi Kavi* (first poet) Vālmīki and by the Tamil *Kavic-chakravarti*, Kambar.

The Hunchback in Literature :

A female hunchback seems to be an indispensable part of the establishment in the female quarters of royal palaces in the past. Just as there were the eunuchs in the royal households both in India and elsewhere, Tamil literary tradition always mentions the hunchbacked women. *Śilappadhikāram* the first Tamil epic, says that minor servants like the hunchback, the dwarf and the dumb were there in the palaces of the Pāṇḍya and the Śera. A hunchback, Vasantamālai by name is also a character in the epic. She is the maid servant of Mādhavi. She hands over Mādhavi's wreath to Kovalan and appears in the epic on a few other occasions, always in the capacity of maid and messenger.

All the early epic seems to portray a *kūni*, a hunchback as a character; it appears as though this was taken on as a literary convention. Vasantamālai, the hunchbacked maid of Mādhavi, is naturally mentioned in the story of *Maṇimekhalai* where Mādhavi, mother of Maṇimekhalai features as a character.

Peruṅkathai (A.D. 700) also features a *kūni*. Here she is Ayirāpati (Irāvati) the maid of Padmāvati. She carries messages of love between Padmāvati and Udayana and also takes part in the ball tournament between the troupes of Vāsavadattai and Padmāvati, the two queens of King Udayana. Though a hunchback, she is a good chariot driver and we find her earlier displacing the usual driver and driving the chariot of Padmāvati when she goes to the temple of Kāma (Cupid) for worship and prayer to grant her Udayana for a husband.

Cintāmaṇi the next epic tells us that one Śambakamālai was the maid of Vijayai, Queen of King Saccandan and an angel came to her in the guise of this hunchback to comfort her and minister to her when she gave birth to the child Jīvaka on the cremation ground.

Mantharā in Rāmāyaṇa:

Mantharā, the hunch-back, is also a character, similar to all these. She plays a crucial role in the Rāmāyaṇa both in Vālmīki and in Kambar. The latter of course followed the story of Vālmīki quite closely. But it is the deviations that are characteristic of his greatness in the epic narration and character delineation.

Chapters 7, 8 and 9 of the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* of Vālmīki deal with Mantharā's evil counsel to Kaikeyī in 141 *ślokas*. The chief points here are the following. Mantharā is of unknown birth (*yato jātā*). She ascends the roof of the palace. Finding Kausalyā distributing presents, she enquires and comes to know that Rāma is to be crowned as the Prince Regent the next day.

Chapter 7 of Vālmīki:

The fire of anger consumes her, the woman who sees only evil (Vālmīki calls her *pāpa-darśinī* twice here). She addresses Kaikeyī even while she is in bed. She uses very harsh words, warranted probably by her long association with Kaikeyī even from her infancy. (She says *uttiṣṭha*, *mūḍhe*, 'get up, you idiot'). She tells her that all her grace with Daśaratha was but evanescent. Perturbed, Kaikeyī asks her what the cause of her agitation is. Pitying the queen's ignorance, Mantharā tells her about Rāma's impending coronation, that it is all a

deceitful scheme of Daśaratha calculated to shower greater fortune on Kausalyā, by sending away Bharata from Ayodhyā and crowning Rāma and calls upon her to protect her own interests and her son's and Mantharā's interests too. Rāma is more than a dear son to her and so, glad to hear such good news, she presents Mantharā with a jewel and is even prepared to grant a dear boon to her. This is the seventh chapter in Vālmīki, in 36 verses.

Kambar :

Kambar deals with this part of the story in just 14 verses in the chapter on *Mantharai śūzhcip - paḍalam*, verses 46-59. The very introduction of Kūṇi is something which chills our very bones. When the city is being decked for the coronation, there appears Kūṇi of the cruel (crooked) intent, comparable to the evil perpetrated by Rāvaṇa. So here at the very appearance of Kūṇi, we are reminded of Rāvaṇa and the chief purpose of the epic. Now, how does she appear? There is a graphic description :

With throbbing heart, and fixed wrath,
Tormenting mind and burning eyes
And thundering words, appeared Kūṇi,
She who would plunge the three worlds in misery.

Here we have to pause and take special notice of a human element which Kambar has introduced into the personality of the Kūṇi. But we shall now go through the story as narrated by the two poets Vālmīki and Kambar in the first instance and then revert to the human element which Kambar has introduced at this stage. Kambar says that as a little boy Rāma had aimed a clay pellet at the hump of Mantharā.

Recalling the incident of the clay pellet and working herself into a great fury, Mantharā goes to the bed chamber of Kaikeyī and like a comet of evil portent, she touches her feet. (Servants, whatever be the emergency, do not shout at the queen to wake her up). Kaikeyī wakes up but does not open her eyes. Impelled by her own sinful purpose, Mantharā addresses her : "You are sleeping even like the moon when the serpent is approaching to devour it". Kaikeyī replies : "What harm can come to me now when I have my son Rāma who is like the very Vedas ?"

Mantharā admonishes her : "You are doomed, while Kausalyā thrives by her wisdom". Kaikeyī replies : "The Emperor is my husband and Bharata is my son. What more does she have ?".

Now Mantharā discharges her first shaft of calumny : "Tomorrow Rāma, who performed the disgraceful act of slaying the woman Tāṭakā is to be crowned King. This is Kausalyā's great fortune".

When Kaikeyī hears the news of coronation she is extremely happy, because she considers Rāma as her own son as much as he was Kausalyā's. Out of her joy, she takes a sparkling necklace off her neck and presents it to Mantharā for bringing her such good news. The whole scene is worked up by Kambar with consummate skill. Mantharā we see now recalls the incident of the clay pellet. Mantharā is capable of recalling past events, trivial or vital, to further her present purpose. And she now refers to the Tāṭakā incident and mentions Rāma as one who befouled honour to the scorn of all men, in killing a woman. Thus we find that Kambar is weaving every small detail with intricate artistry.

Chapter 8 of Vālmīki:

In 39 verses of this chapter, Mantharā slowly poisons the mind of Kaikeyī. Throwing away the present given by her she tells her: "When Rāma is crowned, you will naturally be reduced to the status of a maid to wait on Kausalyā and your daughter-in-law will also be unhappy because of Bharata's reduced status". But Kaikeyī still will not be taken in by the words of Mantharā. She extolls the virtuous qualities of Rāma Now Mantharā begins to dwell on the injustice that will come to be done to Bharata who may even be banished. She insinuates that in the past Kaikeyī had slighted Kausalyā, because of her own hold over the King and so Kausalyā may have a grudge against Kaikeyī and will show it. Therefore she suggests that Rāma should be banished and Bharata installed as King. These arguments leave Kaikeyī's mind in a poisoned condition.

Kambar:

This part of the story is described by Kambar equally elaborately in 24 verses. Mantharā dashes the pearl necklace given by Kaikeyī with such force that it simply blasted the place where it fell. She cries, shouts, weeps, her eyes spit fire and then she goes on: "You are idiotic and mad. Go on suffer with your son; but I shall not stay and serve the maids of Kausalyā. How can you be happy when your co-wife's son rules sitting on the throne, while your own son has nothing to sit on? Better he had died". Then she invokes the name of Bharata and cries: "O Bharata, your father is cruel, your mother also is hard-hearted. What shall you do now? All your good qualities are now like nectar spilt on the mud". It is extremely interesting to see Mantharā changing her tactics to bring round Kaikeyī to her line of reasoning She invokes now the name of Bharata so that this at least may influence Kaikeyī

But Kaikeyī can stand this no longer. These words are like ghee poured on the fire of her anger. "You bad woman, what words do you talk? You do no good either to me or to Bharata, nor even to yourself.

Get out of my sight. I am desisting from cutting off your tongue which uttered these spiteful words. Stop your stupidity".

But Mantharā will not go. Finding that her harsh words have no effect on Kaikeyī but have only antagonized her, she falls down at her feet and continues. "If all the land becomes the property of Rāma and therefore of Kausalyā, then you and your son can only get what is doled out to you by her. Now if poor and suffering people go to you for some help, what will you give them? Will you beg of her, or be ashamed to beg? Will you sign and give up your life? How will you live then? Your own people may go to see you. They will see only Kausalyā's prosperity. Janaka, father of Sītā, does not today fight and suppress your father, because of Daśaratha. Hereafter, who can save him?"

We see here Kambar gradually working up the situation. Kaikeyī is depicted as a virtuous flower of womanhood who does not tolerate the poisonous words of Mantharā at all. She herself reviles at Mantharā in very harsh language and asks her to go away. This position is not found in Vālmīki. There Kaikeyī very easily succumbs to the malicious words of Mantharā.

Chapter 9 of Vālmīki:

Chapter 9 in Vālmīki deals with the change in Kaikeyī and resolve to get the two boons from Daśaratha and her preparations to meet him. The poet just introduces to us the change in her, without the least explanation. Kaikeyī agrees to effect the installation of Bharata on the thtone and the banishment of Rāma into the forest and asks Mantharā how this can be done. Mantharā then recalls the Śambara-*vadha* incident and the King's grant of two boons given at that crucial moment, but which Kaikeyī seems to have forgotten for the moment now.

To help Indra, Daśaratha, long time ago, marched south on the city of Vaijayanta in the Daṇḍaka forest. and fought Timidhvaja known as Śambara, the demon. In the battle the King was riddled with the arrows of the demon and was saved in time by Kaikeyī who guided the chariot in which he lay in an unconscious state to a place of safety and there nursed him back to life. At that time, the grateful Daśaratha promised her two boons, which she said she would use whenever there was need.

Now Mantharā says she may ask those two boons, install Bharata on the throne and send Rāma into the forests. Recalling this incident, Mantharā tutors Kaikeyī in the manner in which she should extract the boons from the King. She gives her detailed instructions as to how she should behave at the time of the King's visit. "Wear dirty clothes, lie

down on the bare floor. Do not look at him or speak to him untill he gives you the boons." Hearing the scheme, Kaikeyī praises her, her thoughtfulness, her beauty, the beauty of the very hump and so on and assures her that she will either get the two boons or die. Then dismissing Mantharā, she does as she had told her, lies down on the bare floor of the sulking chamber like a *kinnara* nymph fallen from the heavens. This chapter contains 66 verses. The next one begins with the arrival of the King and the story continues.

Kambar :

Kambar has only 8 verses on this part of the story. "As the wicked Mantharā uttered these words, even the pure heart of Kaikeyī was corrupted, for the gods had got their boon from Viṣṇu, and the sages had performed their penances for long, all for the riddance of the world from the Rākṣasas. The sin of the Rākṣasas and the virtuous deeds of the sages drove the deerlike Kaikeyī of pure words to give up that kindness in her heart. It is indeed her heartlessness that has made the nectar of the glory of Rāma available for tasting by the whole world."

"You are dear to me and to my son" says Kaikeyī, "Tell me how my son can get the crown." Mantharā kisses the feet of Kaikeyī, reminds her of the two boons granted by Daśaratha when Śambara was destroyed and tells her that by invoking those two boons she may secure the crown for Bharata and send Rāma to the forest. So says the cruel woman whose mind also had become crooked

Kaikeyī embraces her and then sends her away with the assurance that either she gets the two boons or gives up her life.

We find that Mantharā forges her arguments with consummate skill to win over Kaikeyī to her line of thinking. Her attempt to say that Rāma is the son of Kausalyā is of no avail. Vālmīki's Mantharā says that Kaikeyī had insulted Kausalyā in the past and now the coronation will give Kausalyā a chance to illtreat Kaikeyī. But Kambar does not use this flimsy argument. His Mantharā's second shaft is that Bharata will be ill fated. Even then Kaikeyī is not moved. Lastly she insinuates that Kaikeyī will cut a sorry and helpless figure when her own people go to her for help. This is a very psychological point. Women are, even today, as in the past, very sensitive when it comes to their hospitality to the people from the place of their birth. This vital argument makes the unsuspecting Kaikeyī succumb to the wiles of Mantharā.

The skill of Mantharā may also be seen in her ability to marshall past incidents to her aid to help the situation. The clay pellet incident for the matter of vengeance, the Tāṭakā incident to bring down the repute

of Rāma, and then the Śambara-*vadha* for extracting the boons from Daśaratha, are remarkble instances.

Thus ends the Mantharā incident in the Rāmāyaṇa. Here Kambar portrays Kaikeyī as a sweet and virtuous queen, kindhearted and generous, who always adheres to virtue. She is not easily swayed by the words of the cruel Mantharā. Referring to her, Kambar uses the words the lady of divine chastity, the pure, the deerlike queen of pure words, the Devi of pure thoughts. All the epithets used are superlative and we are left wondering and grieved that such a noble character gets corrupted with the words of the crooked Mantharā and we find solace at this stage that these are all but characters in a drama of divine destiny. Because such a lofty hearted lady falls to the machinations of a crooked woman, the fall is indeed great. Kūṇi here does not tutor Kaikeyī on how she should behave towards Daśaratha. Nor does Kaikeyī praise her much for her advice. She simply dismisses Mantharā and goes about her business.

Now we shall speak separately about the human element introduced by Kambar in evolving the character of Mantharā.

The Clay Pellets :

When Kambar directs Mantharā the hunchback into the bed chamber of the young queen Kaikeyī to poison her mind and make her extract from Daśaratha the two boons promised by him, we know of course that she is moved by a superior force which works through all the characters in order that the great and ultimate cosmic purpose of the destruction of Rāvaṇa might be achieved. This is the position taken by Vālmīki and it is quite in the nature of the progress of the epic. But the divine purpose is not enough for Kambar. He introduces here a human element. Mantharā the hunchback is not just a tool in the hands of destiny; she is not an inert passive mechanical tool. She has a mind of her own and that mind is made to nurse an ancient grouse which is nowhere found in Vālmīki. Says Kambar: "Mantharā strode fast to the palace of Kaikeyī, biting her lips in anger, recalling an ancient incident when she received a hit from a clay pellet on her hump aimed from the bow of Rāma". This little incident is remarkable as providing a reason for the spite of the hunch-back against Rāma. Otherwise, we can only say that in her great eagerness to safeguard the royal interests of her mistress Kaikeyī, she imagines many things in the future and cleverly induces Kaikeyī to bring about the great calamity in the city of Ayodhyā, from which all the other story springs and the whole Rāmāyaṇa itself is born. In Vālmīki she has no motive except the welfare of Kaikeyī but her concern for her queen is all imaginary and unnatural. It is however caused by the epic necessity of Rāma's exile into the forest which in its

turn results in the abduction of Sītā by Rāvaṇa and ends up with the destroyal of Rāvaṇa, which is the real purpose of the Rāmāyaṇa epic.

But Kambar the great epic artist makes Mantharā not a mere tool in the hands of destiny, but a real human being, endowed with flesh and blood, smarting with a real insult done by Rāma although as a child, waiting for an opportunity to wreak a vengeance, and now finding such an opportunity.

The story is this: When Rāma was a little boy, he was playing with the bow and arrows during his period of training in archery. Little children are fond of hitting anything that goes close to them and the hump of the palace servant, who was just then carrying a pot of water resting on her hip was a fine target for the child Rāma. He aimed a clay pellet arrow at her hunchback. The ball hit the target, and down fell the pot of water from her waist and broke, much to the laughter of the other maids accompanying her and the chagrin of Mantharā herself. She would have smarted at the pair and the humiliation inflicted on her in the presence of her co-workers. Obviously she vowed in her mind that she would have some day to wreak her vengeance and now came the time for it.

Āḻvārs' Songs:

The introduction of the motive of Mantharā's interference at this crucial moment is indeed a master stroke of Kambar's creative and narrative talent. The Tamil saying is that 'Kambar is great in erudition'. We may certainly agree with this saying, when we see from what source Kambar drew this idea of a motive for Mantharā. The clay ball pellet incident, we find, is mentioned in the Vaiṣṇava canon, the *Nālāyira Prabandham* in the songs of Tirumaḻiśai āḻvār and Nammāḻvār. The poet Kambar was steeped in the devotional songs of Vaiṣṇavism and of Śaivism, and he utilises the mention in the Āḻvār's songs very dramatically and very successfully now.

"Tirumaḻiśai āḻvār sings (*Tiruccanda viruttam,* verse 30):

My Lord, wearing the basil wreaths,
are You not the Archer
Who aimed a pellet at the hunchback?"

Again referring to Śrī Raṅgam, the Āḻvār says (ibid. 49):

"This is the place of the Lord
Who was pleased to send a clay pellet
to pierce the hump of the Kūni (Mantharā),
her tuft of hair decked with flowers,
with the bees humming round."

Nammāḻvār sings (*Tiruvāymoḻi* 1.5.5.):

> "Oh Govinda, did You not shoot a clayball
> from Your bow to injure the hump of the Kūṉi?"

The expressions used by the two Āḻvārs are *pierce* and *injure*. Mantharā would have been an young girl at the time (though a hunchback); she would have felt pain and humiliation at the time and being young would have smarted at the humiliation and vowed vengeance. To a young woman in the company of other young girls, this mortification and disgrace was not one to be forgotten.

Kambar utilises the reference given by the Āḻvārs to very great dramatic purpose. The passive tool of Vālmīki had evolved into a real human character with a personality all her own and now became a conscious and strong willed participant in his drama of divine destiny.

Mantharā in other contexts:

Mantharā is as it were almost dismissed from the story altogether after her evil advice to Kaikeyī. She makes an appearance later when Bharata dressed in weeds prepares to go into the forest to bring back Rāma who had gone into exile. At that moment when Bharata and Śatrughna are conversing, there appears Mantharā at the eastern gate decked in all jewellery (*sarvābharaṇa-bhūṣitā*) on all her limbs, in costly clothes and sandal paste, looking like a female monkey, says Vālmīki. A servant delivered her to Śatrughna who seized her violently. Bharata thereupon interceded and she was spared.

Kambar does not refer to the decking of Mantharā. He merely narrates her seizure by Śatrughna. When all the people are assembled at the city gates ready to start, the deathlike Mantharā also appears. Śatrughna seizes her with a view to send her to the other worlds, but Bharata stops him saying that Rāma would not approve of such an act.

In another place in Kambar's Rāmāyaṇa Rāma makes a reference to Mantharā. The context is the crowning of Sugrīva on the death of Vāli, Rāma is giving him some advice of practical wisdom: "Because of a trivial thoughtless fun which I poked at the short hunchback Mantharā in my childhood, I am in the present predicament of losing Sītā and seeking others' aid to find her." Therefore he warned: "Do not tease others because they are small".

Manthara in the other Rāmāyaṇa Stories:

The annecdotes relating to Mantharā in the other Rāmāyaṇa stories will make interesting reading. *Padmapurāṇa* says that Mantharā

was an *apsaras* (a celestial nymph) who was deputed by the Gods to carry out the mission, namely devising means for the destruction of Rāvaṇa by sending Rāma and Sītā into the forest. She was given away by the Kekaya King as a maid servant to his daughter Kaikeyī.

While Vālmīki gives no apparent cause for Mantharā's spite against Rāma and Kambar introduces the episode of the clay pellet, Tulasi in his *Ramacarita-mānasa* says that the gods harassed by Rāvaṇa induced Sarasvatī much against her will to enter the mind of Mantharā the maid and make her the instrument for sending Rāma into the forest.

The Kūṇi episode in the Rāmāyaṇa seems to have been projected in some legends into the next *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, viz., the Kṛṣṇāvatāra. Rāma who aimed his clay pellet at the Kūṇi is here made to recompense it by converting the hunchback into a handsome young maiden. As Kṛṣṇa was going with his brother Balarāma along the main roads of the city of Mathurā the city of Kaṃsa when he was invited there for a shooting contest by Kaṃsa, a young hunch backed maiden was going along carrying a bowl of sandal paste. Kṛṣṇa cast a loving look on her and asked her, "My dear girl, for whom are you taking this sandal"?.

She replied, "O handsome youth, I am Naikavakrā and am employed by Kaṃsa to prepare sandal paste for him".

"Can you give this fine paste to us so that we may smear it on our person?".

Charmed by the form and words of Kṛṣṇa, she gave it to him. He smeared it on his person. Then he lifted up her head with his fingers pressing down her foot with his own foot, thereby straightening up her back to remove her hump, and giving her a beautiful figure.

B.V. KISHAN

CONCEPT OF JĪVA IN JAINISM – SOME OBSERVATIONS

The Indian religions possess common characteristics as well as differences. One Indian religion appears to be an antithesis of the other, but when the basis of religious polemics is examined their differences get narrowed down. Historically the Vedic religion has precedence, and Jainism and Buddhism had their beginning when the Indian society was permeated with subtle religious concepts, beliefs and faith. The emergence of two atheistic religions almost simultaneously is of significance. According to one explanation the two atheistic religions show the deep felt social injustice and religious tyranny in the Indian society. Buddhism and Jainism are attempts to diverge from the existing religious modes, and to seek out new ways in solving the problems of life.

If it is accepted that the Vedic religion offers an insight into the Indian mind and spirit, then it follows that Buddhism and Jainism also help in knowing the Indian mind. The common component of these three religions is exclusively the Indian people. It is from this viewpoint that Indian religions have to be understood. It is an uncommon phenomena to have three major religions of the world in one country. One explanation can be that the Indian mind is equally conscious of this world and the world which is above and beyond. It is not difficult to enumerate the contradictory nature of the basic premises of the three Indian religions. Whereas the Vedic religion accepts the existence of a divine being or beings, both Buddhism and Jainism are against this assumption. The arguments which are given to prove the existence of the divine being in the Vedic scripture are ridiculed by the founders of Buddhism and Jainism. As Buddhism and Jainism refuse to follow the lead of Vedism, to that extent they have to be regarded as beginning new traditions.

In my opinion, which may be agreeable to some scholars, Jainism is more close to the Vedic religion than Buddhism. They argue that Jainism has in it many beliefs and assumptions which are different from Buddhism, and hence indicative of its midway position between Vedic religion and Buddhism. It is difficult to decide whether in comparison to Jainism, Buddhism is more antithetical to Vedic religion or not, yet the fact remains that both the religions differ from the Vedic religion on fundamental concepts.

It is difficult to accept the viewpoint that Buddhism is a synthesis of the thesis represented by the Vedic religion and the antithesis provided by Jainism. No religion can be a synthesis of all religions, and it is difficult to believe that synthesis results according to some logical pattern or dialectical movement.[1]

Every religion has its own basis and each one is different from the other. Buddhism and Jainism arose in the same period, but they do not have a common basis. Jainism accepts the premise that there are innumerable souls. All natural phenomena, all objects, minerals etc., have souls. Jainism accepts the soul, but it does not accept the divine soul or the supreme. To the extent Jainism regards the objects of the world as possessing independent souls, it gives precedence to the spirit over the matter. The souls are eternal but remain circumscribed during the period when they are heavily covered with ignorance and *karma*. This assumption of Jainism is purely spiritual and metaphysical, in contrast to Buddhism which does not accept either individual soul or supreme soul.

Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism have the common belief that the attainment of perfection is within the power of the individual. These three religions gain a common characteristic by accepting that the individual is self-sufficient and can rise to any height of attainment. But the three religions accept that human life is not perfect and man has to overcome many evils. Jainism and Buddhism are religions of faith in man, which together stress that human element can overcome every form of suffering and reach ultimate perfection. The presupposition of the Vedic religion that the world is a continuation of the divine truth, and man being a part of it is inherently perfect, establishes the common belief of the three religions from divergent standpoints and pre-suppositions. The significance given to the world-renounced ascetics in religions, is a

1. Each religion appears as the result of confrontation of the religious genius with the fundamental problems about life, human destiny and reality. The presence of common premises do not show the dependence of one religion on the other. Each major religion has to be taken as an unique expression, and there is no need to regard one religion as the result of the synthesis of ideas taken from one or more religions.

measure to prove that if one man can attain perfection all men can attain perfection. The prominence given to the human element in the cosmic order, depicts another important aspect shared by the three Indian religions.

Jainism which finds in every aspect of physical world the presence of the non-material spirits aims to prove that the universe is vibrating with an order indicative of an hierarchy of forms animate and inanimate. The living organisms are of different kinds, and they possess souls of different order. Here one finds a divergence as well as unity between Hinduism and Jainism. They are divergent in the sense that Jainism does not accept that any sentient or non-sentient element reflects a higher principle. Jainism instead maintains that as the world is without any beginning. the souls of all things, organisms and creature are also without beginning; The consensus of the Hindu religion is that out of the primordial Being the world comes forth. The spider and web simile brings out the standpoint of the Hindu religion.[2] But some aspects of the Hindu tradition resemble the views of Jainism. The eternal souls, the eternality of time and the world, are beliefs which are common to many religions. Hence the argument that the Jaina view of plurality of souls is the result of opposition to the Upaniṣadic theory that from the primordial One many come out, cannot be taken as correct. For Jainism there is no beginning for the world without the Many and the Many do not arise from the One. This shows their lack of faith in an order on principle which is One and indivisible.

The Jaina teachers revel in precise classification of the main ideas possessing religious, ethical and psychological significance. The universe is divided into two divisions,[3] the soul and non-soul. The soul is potentially pure, and it is either involved in the mundane world or it is liberated. The Jaina definition of soul as pure self-consciousness, reminds one of similar definition in the *Upaniṣads*. By regarding that the soul is possessing every perfection and power, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and religious teachers come very near to same assumptions of Vedic religion. Suffering begins when the soul involves itself with matter *(pudgala)*, therefore the end of suffering is removal of the connection between the soul and matter. The Jaina scripture finds in every living body two elements, the soul and the non-soul.

Every soul or *Jīva* has the following inherent characteristics: 1. *Jñāna*, knowledge 2. *Darśana*, conation 3. *Caritra*, right conduct

2. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, II, i, 20.

3. In the present paper I have mainly followed the Jaina doctrins as they are found in (1) B.C. Law, *Mahāvīra And His Life and Teaching*; (2) Mrs. Stevenson; *The Heart of Jainism* (3;) Volumes on *Jaina Sūtras*, SBE Series.

4. *Tapa*, austerity 5. *Vīrya*, power 6. *Uvago*, enjoyment. This definition of soul tantamounts to elevation of every organism spiritually and morally, Jainism endows the living organisms with attributes which make them omniscient. The soul is omniscient possessing rare powers, hence in Jainism there is no place left for the assumption of another ominscient power above it. The *Jīva* can attain the highest knowledge which is spiritual and also knowledge about different aspects of universe. Every religion recognises the importance of human knowledge and accepts its continuous growth and extension. The holy books of Jainism contain some earliest classifications of animals and plants, which indicate the presence of scientific attitude in ancient India. The Jaina teachers recognised the function of mind and its primary role in the cognisance of truth.

Without employing a term to denote mind, Jainism has dealt with the psychological elements under the comprehensive concept of *Jīva*. The stress of Jainism on the conative aspect of the soul is nothing short of the acceptance of mind. One may differ over the terms used and find in Jainism no faculty discharging the function of mind. Religious doctrines reflect a deep awareness of the components of human existence and personality, though they group them under a general category and do not analyse them separately. For example the Jaina emphasis on the elements of right conduct is based on the belief that the *Jīva* is eternal and has the potential power to be righteous. The Jaina theory of *Jīva* shows that man can reach greater heights of perfection, not because of spiritual upliftment or grace of God but due to the Omniscient nature of the *Jīva*

Jainism has an elaborate doctrine of the non-soul, *ajīvatattva*, matter. According to them matter has touch, taste, smell and weight and is spread everywhere in space. The acceptance of matter as an independent entity introduces a balancing factor into the Jaina religion. Accepting the *Jīva* and *ajīva* as two basic entities, Jainism has explained the nature of cosmos and the destiny of man. Jainism accepts the material basis of the universe, and it does not provide partial explanations of either self or the universe. Jainism justifies the positive value of material elements, but it did not fully utilise the advantages of this assumption.

The self of man is pure, but it is covered by impurities due to a number of factors. Jainism elaborates the impurities of *Jīva*. The *Jīva* is eternal, has a long past, has experienced many lives and has undergone many changes and will enjoy eternal existence. All this implies that the *Jīva* may become impure either due to the actions of the present life or the *karmas* of past lives The present state of the *Jīva* indicates its previous states, hence there is imminent need for arrest-

ing the growth of impurities in it. Perception and knowledge being comprehensive terms indicate not only ideation and conation but also emotion. Jainism establishes the value of knowledge and perception while developing the theme of the impurities of the soul. It is thought that Jainism does not show concern for the increase in knowledge and sharpening of the powers of perception. Jainism has encouraged the growth of such knowledge which is not harmful to the spiritual welfare of man.

The *Jīva* being immaterial has no attributes of touch smell etc. In case the *Jīva* is taken as possessing sense attributes, it will distort the understanding of its real nature, maintain the Jaina thinkers. To identify the *Jīva* with material elements is to possess a distorted picture of it. The *Jīva* is at the basis of all human actions and pervades the body which it occupies. Being a primary nexus of human personality, all the normal and abnormal aspects have to be traced to the *Jīva*. Thus the *Jīva* has to reap the consequences of all actions. As a result of involvement in past actions the *Jīva* becomes alien to its attributes. But its original purity may come out any moment to reach the state of perfection. In the state of perfection the *Jīva* is prepared for the upward journey away from the world. The emphasis on the purity and impurities of the *Jīva* shows that the Jaina teachers did not like to hide the vicious side of human nature and the brute facts of the world. Jainism gave prominence to the best in human nature and stressed on the need to curb the propensity for violence and brutality, thus throwing light on the nature and function of the *Jīva*.

The Jaina teachers distinguish two kinds of *prāṇa*. 1. *Dravya prāṇa* and 2. *Bhāva prāṇa*. The former is of ten varieties: i. *Sparśa indriya*, sense of touch ii. *Rasana indriya*, sense of taste iii. *Ghrāṇa indriya*, sense of smell iv. *Cakṣur indriya*, sense of sight v. *Śrotra indriya*, sense of hearing vi. *Śvāsocchvāsa*, breathing, respiration vii. *Manoyoga*, activity of mind viii. *Vacana yoga*, activity of speech ix. *Kāya yoga*, activity of body x. *Āyuḥ*, life limit.

Bhāva prāṇa is of four types. i. *Ananta jñāna*, infinite knowledge ii. *Ananta darśana*, infinite perception. iii. *Ananta caritra*, perfect conduct. iv. *Ananta vīrya*, infinite power. *Bhāva prāṇa* is the specific attribute of persons who have attained perfection.

The enumeration of different sense functions and the equation of every sense activity with *prāṇa* shows that they are essential characteristics paving the way towards spiritual progress. Jainism explains the life span in the light of the theory that *Jīva* has a long past and an infinite future. The *Dravya prāṇas* are primary, but they cannot guarantee human perfection until the different aspects of the *Bhāva prāṇa* are

realised. The belief that the individual can have infinite knowledge and perception, shows the optimism of Jainism in overcoming the human limitations. Infinite knowledge may imply not only spiritual knowledge, but also the knowledge about the physical world surrounding the individual. The four aspects of *Bhāva prāṇa*, portray man as the master of all knowledge, with impeccable conduct, and possessing infinite power. The Jaina teachers accept that man can attain power to see things and events which will not be known through ordinary sense activity.

Jainism accepts that souls are of different kinds. Souls are divided into two main types. 1. *Sthāvara*, immobile souls, 2. *Trasa*, mobile souls. The *sthāvara* souls possess one sense organ. The Jaina thinkers give the examples of earth, water, fire, air and vegetable kingdom as depicting *Jīvas* which are immobile. They classify the *sthāvara* souls into five varieties. i. *Pṛthvi-kāya* souls. They are mineral substances, stones, metals, diamonds and salts etc. ii. *Apkāya* souls. These souls are identified as water bodied. The surface water of rivers, lakes, ponds, wells, springs, rain water, dew and ice indicate the *Apkāya* souls which are present in the thick layer of water which support the underground dwelling of hellish beings, and also the celestial dwelling of heavenly beings. iii. *Agni-kāya* souls. These souls are shown as present in the red hot coals, very bright light and in the sparks of plants and stars. iv. *Vāyu-kāya* souls. If the *Agni-kāya* souls are fire-bodied, the *Vāyu-kāya* souls are air-bodied. They are present in wind, storms both in upward direction and downward direction. The layers of air, either thick or thin, contain them. v. *Vanaspati-kāya* souls are present in all plants and vegetables.

The *Trasa* souls are also of different kinds. They are the *Dvi-indriya*, *tri-indriya*, *catur* and *pañcaindriya* souls. The classification of souls according to the number of senses they possess, may not be scientific, yet it demonstrates the awareness of the Jaina thinkers regarding the divisions amongst the animate and non-animate. Scorpions, bees and wasps belong to the group of four sensed souls; leaches, intestinal worms etc., belong to the group of two-sensed souls. To the category of five-sensed souls belong: (a) *Nāraka*, hellish beings, (b) *Tiryañca*, sub human souls belonging to lower animals, (c) *Manuṣya* or human beings, (d) *Devas*, celestial beings having the eight attributes like *aṇimā* etc.

The analysis of Jaina classification of souls, makes it clear that the term soul or *Jiva* connotes the depths which the consciousness attains. Consciousness may be reflected in simple sense activity, but it may attain great heights in the *pañcendriya* souls. Human beings who possess five senses can attain great powers. The superiority of *Devas* is based on the powers they possess and they signify the ideal of perfection

to the human beings. The classification of souls may be unrealistic and mythical, yet it undoubtedly shows that the human beings should not remain complacent about their superiority, because they are far below the standards of perfection. One implication of the Jaina classification of higher souls may be that, human beings have to recognise their capacities and potentialities and should try to surpass the imperfections, and exhibit their maximum potential. Instead of glorifying the individual for the possession of a superior soul, Jainism makes it incumbent on every individual to remove the layers of ignorance which darkens the human potential.

Along with an elaborate definition of soul and its different kinds, the Jaina teachers have a detailed concept of *karma*. They divide *karma* into eight kinds. 1. *Jñānavarṇīya*, knowledge-obscuring *karma*. 2. *Darśanāvarṇīya*, conation-obscuring *karma*. 3. *Vedanīya karmas*, which determines feeling. 4. *Mohanīya karma*, which are deluding. 5. *Āyuḥ karma*, age determining *karma*. 6. *Nāma* or name *karma*, which is body making. 7. *Gotra-karma*, which is family determining. 8. *Antarāya karma* which is of an obstructing nature. It is not without reason that Jainism is called *Kriyāvāda*. This division of *karma*, aims to establish that the existence of man is due to pertinent causal elements. Not only the name, life span and family of the individual are determined by *karmas*, but the presence of certain *karmas* hinders the acquisition of right knowledge, right conation and right desires. The disadvantages and sufferings, lack of right knowledge and right thought, indicate the presence of the obstructive *karma*. Whatever obstructs the spiritual progress of the individual has to be removed. Like other religions Jainism emphasises on moral ideals and other beliefs, so that the individual may desist from following a mode of life which is not commensurate with human dignity. According to Jainism both the freed souls and condemned souls have to pass through different stages. The religious literature of Jainism contain descriptions of the journey of the soul. It does not matter whether the Jaina cosmology and cosmography are true or not, so long as they can serve the purpose of defining and extending the religious ideals. The religious descriptions serve a definite purpose, hence they cannot be taken as literally true or untrue. All the major religions of the world accept a sort of retributory theory of punishment. To engender good actions certain formulas are prescribed. Actions which prove destructive to the well being of man are condemned. This simple expediency governs the religious regulations.

The Jaina theory of *karma* accepts that the souls are eternal and acquire merits or demerits and may take birth either as man or *deva* or *tiryañca* or *nāraka*. The soul can adopt any of the four forms according to its merits and demerits. In case the soul has a meritted history then it will adopt a higher from. The very fact that the *pañcendrīya* - souls have

no intrinsic difference in taking any one of the four forms of which the lowest are the hellish and the highest the celestial beings, goes to prove that the existence of man does not symbolise suffering and despair according to Jainism. Some scholars have argued that Jainism has a heart which is empty and that Jainism preaches death and not life affirmation.[4] Even it is accepted that the Jaina teachers have given a great value to fasting unto death, regarding it as the sublime moral act, it is necessary to note that this measure was recommended for those who had fulfilled all rigorous ideals of religion and were poised to attain total liberation from the bondage of *karma*. There is however no indication in the Jaina scripture that this extreme measure was meant for all. Had the Jaina teachers intended to preach universal suicide they would not have prescribed the observance of moral principles by every person. Only a few who had totally dedicated themselves to the realisation of the highest ideals of Jainism resorted to fast unto death and not the common people Jainism is not a religion whose heart is empty, nor it preaches death and annihilation.

4. Stevenson, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

S. SANKARANARAYANAN

GUṆṬUPALLE INSCRIPTIONS OF SIRI-SADA

Guṇṭupalle is a village in the Kamavarapukota Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. Long ago the reputed archaeologist Rea and subsequently Longhurst also had surveyed this village and discovered there some ruined monuments assignable to the second century B.C. These scholars believed that those monuments are Buddhist in nature.[1] Recently in 1968 some four lime-stone pillars were discovered in the same village. They bear the sub-joined inscriptions, four in number, referred to hereinafter as A, B, C and D for the sake of convenience. These inscriptions were first edited by Dr. R. Subramanyam in 1968, by writing a small monograph.[2] As his treatment of the records was found unsatisfactory Dr. D.C. Sircar properly edited them in 1970.[3] However, because these records are of great importance to the students of ancient Indian history in general and of Andhra - Kaliṅga regions in particular, and because they consequently deserve to be studied in greater detail, they are edited here once again, basing on the excellent photographs kindly supplied by Dr. N. Ramesan, Director of Archaeology and Museums, A.P., Hyderabad.

All the four records contain an identical text. But A is written in six lines while the other three are in five lines each. Below each of these epigraphs we find the lower half of a lotus, facing front, carved in patterns different from each other.

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1. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, 1916-17*, pp. 30 ff. and plates XVII to XXVII.
2. *The Guṇṭupally Brāhmi Inscription of Khāravela* (A.P. Govt. Epigraphical Series; No. 3. 1968) with plates. Taking Dr. R. Subramanyam's reading and interpretation of the text of the record for granted Dr. M. Rama Rao had built up his own theories in his paper "The Guṇṭupalli Inscription of Mahāmeghavāhana's Time" published in the above Vol. IX. 1966 (but issued in 1969) pp. 61 ff.
3. *Journal of Ancient Indian History* (JAIH), Vol. III, p.30 ff. and Plates.

The characters of the records are Brāhmī of the post-Aśokan variety and they may be assigned to a period earlier than that of the Udayagiri inscriptions viz., the Hāthīgumphā[4] and Svargapuragumphā[5] records of Khāravela, and the Pātālapuragumphā inscription of Vakadepa.[6] For example the letters *g* and *t* are not as angular as in the Aśokan inscriptions. But they are not as roundish as we find often in the Udayagiri inscriptions, and invariably in the Nasik epigraphs of Puḷumāvi.[7] This feature we notice in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā also.[8] The form of *ḍ* in the present record is interesting. With its vertical line slightly slanting to the left it looks like *ri* of the Hāthigumphā inscriptions. The forms of *c* and *d* are more archaic in our records than in the Udayagiri inscriptions. The lower parts of *p*, *m* and *v* are invariably roundish in the present epigraphs, as in the Aśokan edicts. But they are angular very often in the Udayagiri epigraphs and are invariably so in the Nāsik inscriptions mentioned above. The forms of *h* are not of usual type. They seem to be developed forms of *h* of the Kaliṅga edicts of Aśoka.[9] *L* in the Guṇṭupalle records is peculiar and it is represented by the regular Brāhmī vowel *u* but with its angle turned towards the left. Consequently the better *le* with its medial *e*-sign added to the vertical line looks like the Brāhmī vowel *ū* turned towards the left. As in the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions[10] so in the Guṇṭupalle epigraphs too the medial *i* is denoted by a slanting upward stroke without conspicuously making an angle that is found in similar cases in the Udayagiri and the Nāsik cave inscriptions. In the present records the sign for the medial *u* is not of usual type. It is found only in the case of *cu* in Cula-Goma. It is represented by a small horizontal stroke (but in the case of A, it is slightly slanting) added as a tail to the belly of *c*. Thus on palaeographical grounds the Guṇṭupalle inscriptions may be assigned round about to the age to which the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions belong i.e., the first half of the second century B.C.[11] The Hāthīgumphā inscriptions of Khāravela on the other hand may have to be assigned to the end of the same century.[12] Therefore to ascribe the present records to Khāravela[13]

4. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, (IHQ) Vol. XIV, Plates facing pp. 464–65.
5. Ibid. plate facing p. 160, No' 1.
6. Ibid. No, 2.
7. *Epigraphia Indica* (EI) Vol. VIII, plate facing p, 60.
8. *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. V, plate L1, Nos. 1–9.
9, Bühler's *Palaeographical Charts*, plate II.
10. Op. cit.; see especially Nos. 3 etc.
11. *A Comprehensive History of India*. Ed. by K.A.N. Sastri, Vol. II, pp. 301–02. But cf. JAIH, Vol. III, pp. 31-32.
12. Smith, *Early History of India*, III Ed. p. 207; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R.C. Majumdar etc.; pp. 215–16. Dr. D.C. Sircar also remarks "pelaeographically the Hāthīgumphā inscription is slightly later than the Nānāghāṭ record" (*Select Inscriptions*, II Ed. p. 215).
13. Cf. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, op. cit.

or to one of his successors[14] is to ignore totally the above palaeographical features.

The language of the Guṇṭupalle inscriptions is Prākṛt and its style is very simple giving no room for any doubt in interpretation. The following two instances of phonological interest may be noted. The change of Sanskrit *gh* into *kh* in *Mahāmekhavāhana* (Skt. *Mahāmeghavāhana*) in all the four records may be a rare feature of the Paiśācī Prākṛt[15] not usually met with in the inscriptions, though there are instances where the Sanskrit *kh* is changed into *gh* in the inscriptional Prākṛit.[16] The second feature in our inscription is the change of Sanskrit *t* into *d* in *padisa* in A and in *Sada* (Skt. *Sāta*) in all the records. This change is universal in the Śaurasenī Prākṛt[17] and is met with in the Sātavāhana records also.[18]

The records contain no date. As has been stated earlier all the four Guṇṭupalle records contain an identical text.[19] There is only one sentence in the record. This sentence first introduces the king Siri-Sada endowing him with the epithets *Mahārāja*, *Kaliga-Mahisak-ādhipati* (the lord of the Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka countries) and *Mahāmekhavāhana* (a member of the Mahāmeghavāhana family). Then it proceeds to record the gift of a hall or a porch (*maḍapa*) evidently the one to which the four pillars bearing the present inscriptions belonged.[20] The name of the donor is given as Cula-Goma (Goma the younger) and he is designated as the clerk (*lekhaka*) of the said king *viz.*, Siri-Sada. Thus there is no

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14. Cf. JAIH, op. cit.
15. See *Vargāṇām tṛtīya-caturthayor = ayujor = anādyor = ādyau.* (Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa, X, 3*). In the 13th line of the Hāthīgumphā inscription Barua once read *palikhāni* and took it for the Skt. *Parighān* (*Old Brāhmī Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929, pp.32 and 36). But now scholars including Barua himself read only *lakhila* in that place and take it for the Skt. *lakṣmila* (See IHQ, op. cit. p. 468). Yet, sticking to the earlier reading of Barua, some continue to take the said phonetical change for an eastern features. See Mahendale, *Hist. Grammar of Inscriptional Prākṛt*, Poona, 1948, pp. 188, 211.
16. Cf. e g. *mugha* (=Skt. *mukha*), Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1092.
17. See *anādāv=ayujos=ta—thayor=da—dhau.* (Vararuci, op. cit. XII. 3).
18. Cf. *Sadakaṇi* (=Skt. *Sātakarṇi*) and *Sādavāhana* (=Skt. *Sātavāhana*) (Lüders, op. cit.; Nos. 115 and 1144).
19. Why identical texts should be engraved on four pillars is a difficult question to answer We notice a similar phenomenon at places like Jaggayyapeṭa and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa where there are respectively three and nine copies of the same text engraved on different pillars of the same structure. They are in characters of about the third century A.D. and are dated in the regnal-years of the Ikṣvāku king Vīrapuruṣadatta. See *Arch. Surv. of S.India*, Vol. I, p. 111, Inscriptions 1-3; and EI, Vol. XX, p. 15.
20. These pillars do not appear to have belonged to four different *maṇḍapas*.

justification whatsoever for the correction of text *Siri-Sadasa lekhakasa* of our records into *siri-saṃdesa-lekhakasa* so as to find a reference to a recorder of the royal message of Mahāmeghavāhana, alleged to be identical with Khāravela.[21] Hence all the theories based on this faulty treatment of the record cannot be maintained at all.[22] Again the designation *saṃdesa-lekhaka* appears to be a bit strange and we have already seen that the palaeography of the present record indicates a period earlier than the time of Khāravela.

There is no invocation either in the beginning or at the end of the epigraph. Hence one cannot be quite sure whether these are Buddhist or Jaina or Hindu inscriptions. According to Longhurst's report[23] the vast ruins of many interesting monuments such as *stūpas*, *caityas*, sculptures etc.. found in Guṇṭupalle are Buddhist in nature. If so, it is possible that the *maḍapa* donated by Cula-Goma formed part of some such Buddhist establishment now in ruin at Guṇṭupalle. However, Longhurst[24] had discovered there itself a votive inscription which, according to Shri H. Krishna Sastri is engraved in Brāhmī characters of about the second century B.C., and records the construction of some steps by certain female pupil of a monk called Suyajñanātha.[24] The name of this monk reminds us of the names like Supārśvanātha, Sumatinātha, Ādinātha, Śāntinātha etc. all very famous in the Jaina religion. Therefore it is not unlikely that at Guṇṭupalle there were some Jaina establishments also side by side the Buddhist institutions, as we find in Mathurā,[25] and that the present records are probably Jaina in nature. This suggestion may find some support from the fact that the kings of the Mahāmeghavāhana family encouraged Jainism to the most.[26]

The present inscriptions are important in many respects. Hitherto only two early kings of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty *viz.*, Khāravela and Vakadepa, were known to us from their respective records. It has also been suggested tentatively that Vakadepa was the father of Khāravela.[27] Our records, the earliest among the known documents of the dynasty, supply one more name of a still earlier king *viz.*, Siri-Sada, of the family. There is nothing to decide about the relationship of Siri-Sada with Khāravela. However, basing on the palaeography of our records and that of the Hāthīgumphā inscriptions one may tentatively

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21. Dr. R. Subramanyam, op. cit.
22. Ibid; M. Rama Rao, op. cit.
23. Op. cit., p. 31.
24. Ibid., p. 35.
25. Lüders, op. cit., Nos. 16 ff., and 40, 43, 62 etc.
26. *A Comprehensive Hist. of India*, op. cit., p. 115.
27. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 212-13.

suggest that Siri-Sada was one of the immediate predecessors of Khāravela, perhaps his grand-father, in case Vakadepa was Khāravela's father.

Another interesting point is the name Siri-Sada of the king of the record. This name with its *Sada*-ending bears a close resemblance to the names of the king Mānasada, whose Velpuru (Guntur District) inscription has been assigned to the second century A.D.[28] This king claims to be a member of a family called Aira, which is known to be another name of the Mahāmeghavāhana family.[29] Dr. D.C. Sircar[30] seems to be right when he suggests that as *Sada* may really be *Śāta* which is known to be an abbriviation of Śātavāhana (or Sātavāhana) and Śātakarṇi (or Sātakarṇi), the names Siri-Sada of our records and Mānasada of the Velpuru inscription, may be due to the fact that the said rulers were born of some Sātavāhana princesses. To this list of names of the Cedi princes we may also add the name Sivamaka-sada of the Amarāvati fragmentary inscription.[31] This family relationship between the Sātavāhana and the Mahāmeghavāhana families was perhaps the reason why Khāravela, a successor (or one of the immediate successors) of Siri-Sada should simply threaten, and not capture, the city Asikanagara of Sātakarṇi located on the banks of the Kṛshṇā river, by sending a huge army even though the former did not mind the latter who was the ruler on the west.[32] A parallel instance may be found in the case of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman who twice defeated Śātakarṇi and did not destroy as the latter was a near relative of the former.[33]

Further the findspot of the present records is also quite significant. Khāravela is known for his claim for destroying a certain king's city Pithuḍa which has been identified[34] with a place in the Masūlipaṭṇam region in the coastal area of the Krishna District of Andhra Pradesh. Our epigraphs from Guṇṭupalle in the West Godavari District suggest beyond doubt that the aggressive wars of Khāravela in Andhra were in continuation of the process of southward expansion started earlier at least during the reign of Siri-Sada.

Besides, two interesting problems are posed by our inscriptions. They lie in the claim of Siri-Sada as a lord of the Kaliṅga and Mahi-

28. EI, Vol. XXXII. pp. 82 ff and plate.
29. Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 80.
30. Op. cit., p. 34.
31. *Arch. Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 61 and plate. See also *The Karnatak Hist. Review*, Vol. XIII, p. 36.
32. S. Sankaranarayanan, *The Vishṇukuṇḍis and Their Times*, 1977, p. 33.
33. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 183.
34. Ibid., p. 214.

ṣaka countries. Kaliṅga is usually identified with the modern Orissa State though there are uncertainities regarding its boundaries.[35] A country called Mahiṣaka or Mahiṣa-maṇḍala is known from the Purāṇic and Pāli literature. Regarding its identification scholars hold four divergent views. They locate the country respectively (i) around Māhiṣmatī or Māndhāta in the Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh;[36] (ii) in the region of the modern Mysore city in Karnataka;[37] (iii) somewhere in the northern part of Karnataka;[38] and (iv) in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State.[39] Each of these views has got its own justification. But it would be too much to assume that the territory ruled by the Kaliṅga ruler Siri-Sada was so vast as to include any of these four regions. Hence one may have to think that the Mahiṣaka of our inscriptions may not be identical with any of the above four regions,[40] and that it was very probably contiguous to the Kaliṅga country itself.

In this context it is interesting to note that the *bhaviṣya* section of the Purāṇas refers to certain Guha as a ruler of the Kaliṅga, Mahiṣa and Mahendra countries. There the passage under question runs :

Kaliṅgā Mahiṣaś=c=aiva Mahendra-nilayāś=ca ye/etc.[41]

The fact that the Purāṇas as well as our records mention Mahiṣa or Mahiṣaka immediately after Kaliṅga country may suggest that both these authorities refer to one and the same geographical unit, which—if the above order of the Purāṇic list is given due weight—may be located between the Kaliṅga country and the country of the Mahendra mountains. But it must be confessed that we have nothing to define its boundaries precisely.

The other problem is this: By the Hāthīgumphā inscription we are given to think that Khāravela was the most powerful and the most remarkable king of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty.[42] He is endowed, in that inscription, with the titles *Kaligādhipati* and *Kaligacakkavatti*. His records are totally silent about his sway over the Mahiṣaka country.

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35. *Early Hist. of the Deccan*, Ed. Yazdani, p. 30 ff
36. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1910, pp. 425 ff.
37. Ibid. 1911, pp. 809 ff.
38. *Journal of Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, pp. 5 ff.
39. IHQ, Vol. XXVI, p. 221.
40. Thus in a sense our records seem to further complicate the problem of identification of the Mahiṣa country.
41. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54. Pargiter, however, assigns this king Guha to the early fourth century A.D.
42. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 213 ff.

Now arises a series of questions. Was the Mahiṣaka country lost by the successors of Siri-Sada? To whom was it lost? Was not Khāravela able to recover that country inspite of his astonishingly great military might? Direct answers to these pertinent questions are a bit difficult at present with available evidences. Yet one may suggest tentatively this much: We know that the Indian literature intimately associates Kaliṅga country with the Mahendragiri on the borders of the Ganjam District (Orissa) and of the Srikakulam District (Andhra); and that in early days, the southern boundaries of Kaliṅga was the Godāvarī or the Kṛṣṇā.[43] Further the inscriptions of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga refer to the Kaliṅga country by the names Tri-Kaliṅga, and Sakala-Kaliṅga. This obviously signifies that the entire Kaliṅga country was known to have consisted of some three large regions.[44] In view of these one may conclude that the Purāṇas mention the Mahendra country and hence Mahiṣa country too separately from Kaliṅga only according to the *Māṭhara-Kauṇḍinya-nyāya*.[45] The same must be the case with our records when they mention Mahiṣaka separately from Kaliṅga. In other words the name Kaliṅga, in its broadest sense included all the three divisions mentioned above and in its narrow sense it denoted probably only its part. Consequently it may be suggested that while the epithet *Kaliga-Mahisak-ādhipati* of Siri-Sada denotes that he was the lord of only two units of the entire Kaliṅga, the epithets *Kaligādhipati* and *Kalīgacakkavatti* of Khāravela may signify that he was the lord the entire Kaliṅga country.

The Prākṛt texts of the inscriptions under study is given below together with Sanskrit *chāyā* and English translation.

TEXT

A

1 Mahārajasa Kaliga-
2 Mahisak-ādhipadisa Ma-
3 hāmekhavāhanasa
4 Siri-Sadasa lekha-
5 kasa Cula-Gomasa maḍa-
6 po dānaṃ [||*]

B

1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Ma-
2 hisak-ādhipatisa Mah[ā]-
3 mekhavāhanasa Siri-Sa-

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43. D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, 1971. p. 167.
44. S. Sankaranarayanan, op. cit. p. 100.
45. For similar other instances see D.C. Sircar, *Studies in Geography* etc., p. 192.

4 dasa lekhakasa Cula-Go-
5 masa maḍapo dānaṃ [||*]

C

1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahisak-ā-
2 dhipatisa Mahāmekhavāha-
3 nasa Siri-Sadasa lekha-
4 kasa Cula-Gomasa ma-
5 ḍapo dānaṃ [||*]

D

1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahi-
2 sak-ādhipatisa Mahāme-
3 khavāhanasa Siri-Sada-
4 sa lekhakasa Cula-Go-
5 masa maḍapo dānaṃ [||*]

TEXT SANSKRITISED

Mahārājasya Kaliṅga-Mahiṣak-ādhipateḥ Mahāmeghavāhanasya Śrī-Sātasya lekhakasya Kṣudra-Gomasya[46] maṇḍapo dānam [||*]

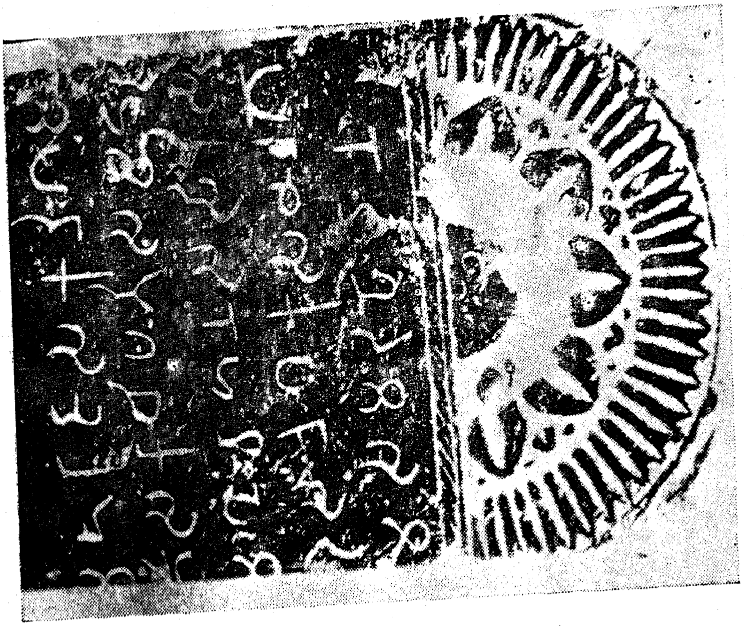
TRANSLATION

(This) hall *(is)* the gift of Goma, the Younger, a writer of *Mahārāja* Śrī-Sāta, who was *(a member of)* the Mahāmeghavāhana *(family)*, and the lord of the Kaliṅga and Mahiṣaka *(countries)*.

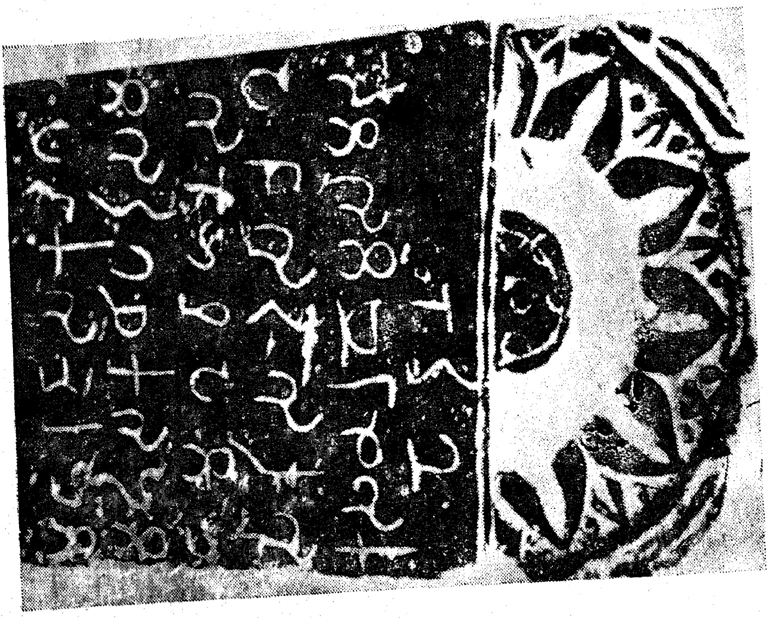
46. The intended word in Sanskrit may also be *Kṣudra-Gomataḥ* or more probably *Kṣudra-Gominaḥ* Cf the name Candragomin of the famous Sanskrit grammarian of the Gupta age.

GUNTUPALLE INSCRIPTIONS ...

B



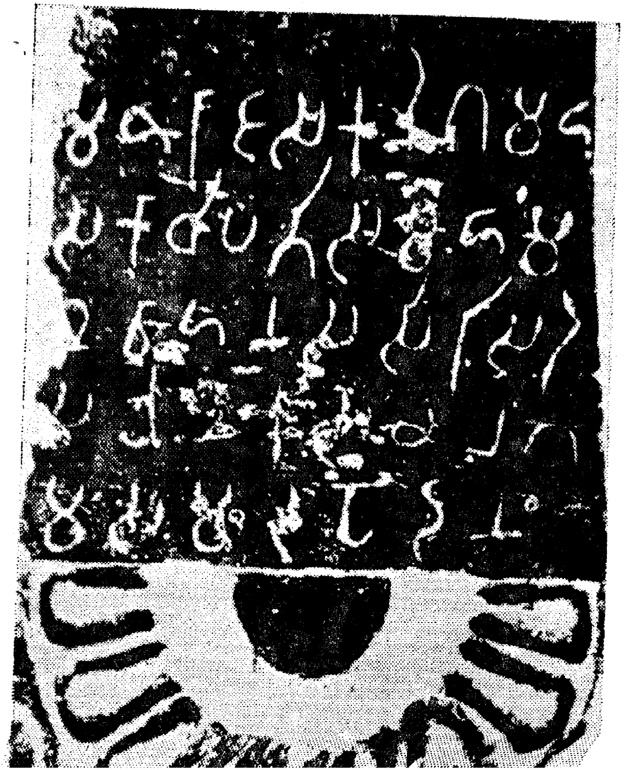
A



Courtesy, Department of Archaeology, A P.

C

D



D.C. SIRCAR

CONFUSED CLAIM REGARDING HIGHER SOCIAL STATUS

I. A Few Clear Cases of Fabrication[1]

The Atpur inscription[2] (A.D. 977) of Śaktikumāra and the Kadmal plates[3] (A.D. 1083) of Vijayasiṃha describe Guhadatta, the progenitor of the Guhila dynasty to which the rulers belonged, as a Mahīdeva or Brāhmaṇa and as the delighter of the Vipra (Brāhmaṇa) family hailing from Ānandapura. Likewise, Bappa, a descendant of Guhadatta, is called a Vipra hailing from Ānandapura in the Chitorgarh inscription[4] (A.D. 1274) and is represented as a Dvija (Brāhmaṇa) in the *Rasikapriya* (commentary on Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda*)[5] by the Guhila Mahārāṇa Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-68) as well as in the Eklingji inscription[6] (A.D. 1489). The Abu inscription[7] (A.D. 1285) says how Bappa changed the Brāhma or priestly for the Kṣātra or martial splendour. This seems to be supported by Nainsī who says that the Guhila Rāṇās were really Brāhmaṇas, but were regarded as Kṣatriya by the people.[8] Abu'l Fazl, however, slightly modifies the story when he says that the Rāṇās were regarded as Brāhmaṇas because a Brāhmaṇa nurtured their family at the beginning of their history.[9]

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1. Cf. Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kiṣkindhā* (GK), pp 1 ff.
2. *Indian Antiquary*, (IA), Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186 ff. – *Ānandapura–vinirgata–vipra-kul–ānaadano mahīdevaḥ jayati śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ śrī–Guhila-vaṃśasya.*
3. *Epigraphia Indica* (EI), Vol XXXI; pp. 237 ff.
4. *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions* (BI), p. 75, varse 9.
5. *Journal and Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal* (JPASB), 1909, p. 173.
6. BI. p. 118. verse 2.
7. Ibid., p. 85, verse 11.
8. JPASB. 1909, pp. 178f.
9. Jarrett's trans.., Vol. II. 269.

Thus the Guhilas claimed originally to be Brāhmaṇas hailing from Ānandapura which is often identified with Vaḍnagar in the Nehsana District of Gujarat. This reminds us of the *Ekaliṅgamāhātmya* (fifteenth century A.D.) describing a mythical ancestor of Guhila as an ornament of the Nāgara clan[10] so that the Guhilas are represented here as the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat. A modified version of this may be noticed in a tradition referred to by Nainsī and Tod, according to which Guhila, after his father's death, was brought up by a Nāgara Brāhmaṇa.[11] The modification was effected apparently when the Guhilas claimed to have been blue-blooded Kṣatriyas at a later date. The Nāgara Brāhmaṇa origin of the Guhilas seems to be a genuine historical fact because the eulogists, who were always after the glorification of their patrons, had little to gain by representing the Guhila rulers as belonging to the petty and non-aristocratic clan of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas. That Ānandapura was an important centre of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas is suggested by records like the Aline, Vavadiya-Jogia and some other copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas,[12] the Gwalior inscription[13] (dated A.D. 876 of Bhoja and the two Harsola plates[14] (dated A.D. 949) of Paramāra Sīyaka.

There is, however, a bardic tradition, according to which Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of the last Śīlāditya among the kings of Valabhī in Gujarat.[15] The *Rājavilāsa-kāvya*, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Rājasiṁha (A.D. 1652-80), also speaks of Guhadatta's connection with the royal family of Valabhī,[16] while a late inscription (A.D. 1544) represents the said Sīlāditya as belonging to the solar race.[17] Other records like the Rajnagar inscription[18] (A.D. 1676) say how the Guhila Rāṇās were directly descended from the celebrated Ikṣvāku kings of the solar line of Ayodhyā and how king Vijaya of that house left Ayodhyā, called himself Vijayāditya and settled in the southern country. As regards the unreliable South Indian association claimed for the Guhilas, Abu'l Fazl says that the ancestors of the Rāṇās florished in Berar and ruled at the fort of Narnala (Akola District, Maharashtra), on the fall of which, about the eighth century A.D., the child Bappa was taken to the protection of the Bhils of Mewar and later became the ruler of that land.[19] The *Tuzuk-i-*

10. JPASB, 1909, p. 171 – *Nāgara-kula-maṇḍana*.
11. Nainsī, *Khyāt*, p.11; Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthan*, Vol. I, p. 258.
12. IA, Vol. XL, p.33.
13. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 35.
14. EI. Vol. XIX, p. 234, line 18 of A; lines 19–20 of B.
15. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (DHNI), Vol. II, p. 1153.
16. Ojha, *Rājpūtāne kā Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 388, note.
17. BI, p.141, lines 27-29 – *Sūryā-vaṁśīya-Mahārājādhirāja-śri-Śīlāditya-vaṁśe śrī-Guhadatta-rāula*.
18. Ibid., pp. 145ff.; cf. verses 34-37.
19. Op. cit., p. 268.

Jahāngīrī says how the family of the Rāṇās reigned for long in the eastern country; then the people went to the Deccan where they conquered many territories, and finally repaired to Mewar and became lords of Chitor.[20] Nainsī says that the ancestor of the Rāṇās came to Mewar from Nasik.[21]

What has been said above would show that the Guhila claim of solar origin is a late fabrication. However, it is quite clear from the conflicting claim in the inscription of A.D. 1541 referred to above that Rāṇā Kumbhakarṇa of the Guhila dynasty belonged to the lunar race.[22] There is some indication as to how the said solar and South Indian association were fabricated during the late medieval period. It is first noticed in the Jagannātharāya temple inscription[23] (A.D. 1652) and the *Rāja-praśasti-mahākāvya*[24] (A.D. 1675), both composed at the court of Rājasiṃha by the Teluṅga Brāhmaṇas whose ancestors appear to have fabricated the tradition as we shall see below. According to these sources, Vijaya or Vijayāditya, the last Ikṣvāku king of Ayodhyā, or his son Padmāditya, conquered the southern country, and Bappa, often called Bāṣpa (wrong Sanskritization of *Bappa*), of the family came to Mewar from the south.

According to late bardic chronicles, the Guhila Rāṇās descended from the Ikṣvāku king Rāma of Ayodhyā, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, through Kanakasena related to Rāma's fifty-sixth descendant named Sumitra. Kanakasena occupied Paramāra territories and founded Bīrnagar before settling in Kathiawar (Gujarat). A few generations after Kanakasena, Vijayasena or Vijayāditya founded Valabhī (near Bhavnagar in Kathiawar). On the sack of Valabhī and the destruction of its defenders by the barbarians, Puṣpavatī, a queen of the deceased king Śīlāditya of Valabhī and a daughter of the Paramāra king of Candrāvatī, took refuge in a *guhā* (cave) where she gave birth to her posthumous son, Guha, Guhila, Guhadatta or Guhāditya, whom she gave to the Brāhmaṇī Kamalavatī. After having requested her to educate him as a Brāhmaṇa but to get him married to a Rajaput Kṣatriya girl Puṣpavatī mounted the funeral pile to join her husband in heaven. The Brāhmaṇa woman brought up Guha along with her sons; but Guha developed martial qualities, which characterise the Kṣatriya, and became the leader of the Bhils whose chief he killed and founded the family of the Rāṇās of Mewar.[25]

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20. Rodgers and Beveridge, trans., Vol. I, p. 250.
21. Op. cit., p. 11.
22. Ibid., p. 141, lines 33-36 – *Mṛgāṅka-vaṁś-oddyota-kāraka-pratāpa-mārtāḍ-āvatāra .... Rāṇā-śrī-Kumbhakarṇa.*
23. EI, Vol. XXIV, p. 65.
24. Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Appendix. pp. 92–93; Vol. XXIV. p. 65.
25. GK, pp. 12–13.

The story is manifestly a folktale concocted on the line of that of the Purāṇic legend about the Ikṣvāku king Sagara, son of Bāhu,[26] and there are other cases of similar fabrication as we find one in the story of Mādhavavarman in Telugu works on the history of Anamakoṇḍa.[27] What is, however, more important is that similar stories are found in the inscriptions of other dynasties claiming decent from the solar race and that we have at least one earlier case of exactly the same type. Thus the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī in Andhra Pradesh, who represented a branch of the Cālukya house of Bādāmi, must have been Dravidians of Karṇāṭa origin, and flourished from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D. The fabricated solar genealogy of the Eastern Cālukyas is found in their latest records such as the Chellūr plates[28] of Vīracoḍa who ruled Veṅgī as the viceroy of his father Kulottuṅga I Rājendra in A.D. 1078-84 and A.D. 1086-92.

The Eastern Cālukya inscriptions trace the genealogy of the lunar dynasty to Udayana, son of Śatānīka, and say that, after the rule of fifty nine kings who succeeded Udayana at Ayodhyā, king Vijayāditya came to Dakṣiṇāpatha and lost his life in an encounter with Pallava Trilocana, a mythical personage. The reference to Ayodhyā shows that the solar dynasty was meant even though the epico-Purānic genealogy of the lunar race was quoted through confusion. Vijayāditya's queen is stated to have escaped to Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Somayājin at the Agrahāra of Muḍivemu at present Mudiyam in Cuddaph district and gave birth to a posthumous son named Viṣṇuvardhana who later married the daughter of the Pallava king and became the founder of the Eastern Cālukya royal family. This fictitious Vijayāditya is wrongly made the father of Pulakeśin I who was the real founder of the Early Cālukya house of Bādāmi and whose grandson Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana founded the Eastern Cālukya house. The claims of the Guhilas and the Eastern Cālukyas have a striking resemblance. Thus Vijayāditya of the Eastern Cālukya legend has been called Vijayāditya, and later also Vijayasena just to match with the name of Kanakasena. This is because the fabrication was done by the Teluṅga Brāhmaṇas of Andhra Pradesh at the court of the Guhila kings of Mewar.

The fictitious nature of the Eastern Calukya claim is clear from the records of the Later Cālukya branch of Kalyāṇa (tenth to twelfth century A.D.) which was another off shoot of the Bādāmi house (sixth to eighth century A.D.). The records of the Bādāmi line have nothing to say

26. E.g., *Harivaṃśa*, I. 13.30ff.; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 88. 122ff.; etc.; Sircar, *Studies in the Society and Administration of Ancient and Medieval India* (SSAAMI) Vol. I. pp. 41ff.

27. B.V. Krishna Rao, *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, pp. 436ff.; GK, p. 13, note 2.

28. *South Indian Inscriptions* (SII), Vol. I, pp. 49ff.

about its high ancestry because the fashion of claiming descent from the solar, lunar, Yādava or Nāga races or from the sacrificial fire-pit of some sage did not become so popular in that age. According to the Kauthem plates[29] (A.D. 1009) of Cālukya Vikramāditya V of Kalyāṇa fifty-nine Cālukya kings ruled in Ayodhyā, next sixteen of them ruled in Dakṣiṇāpatha, and there, after a temporary eclipse, the glory of the family was revived by Jayasiṃha. The Kalyan inscription[30] (A.D. 1025-26) elaborates the genealogy as follows on the basis of the Mānavyagotra and the epithet *Hārītiputra* claimed by the Bādāmi house: the god Brāhman, his mind-born son Svāyambhuva-Manu, his son Mānavya, his son Hārita or Hārīta, his son Pañcaśikhin Hāriti, and his son Cālukya, the progenitor of the dynasty. Likewise, the Handarike inscription[31] of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1076-1126) gives the same genealogy with the change of Mānavya to Māṇḍavya and the statements that the Cālukyas were born in the *culuka* (i.e. palm of the hand hallowed to hold water) of Pañcaśikha Hārita, that Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya was succeeded by fifty-nine kings beginning with Satyāśraya, lord of Ayodhyā, and that Jayasiṃha and his sixteen successors were then succeeded by the Raṭṭas (i.e. Rāṣṭrakūṭas) in the Deccan. One has now to compare the genealogical claims of the Early Cālukyas of Bādāmi, the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī, the later Cālukyas of Kalyāṇa and the Guhilas of Mewar in order to note the nature of fabrication and borrowing from one by another. It will be seen that the Guhilas borrowed their genealogy from the Eastern Cālukyas.

Another interesting fact is that the story of the rise of Bappa is similar to that of his ancestor Guhadatta. We are told that Bappa's father was killed by the Bhil rebels when the child was only three years old, and the child was removed by the family priests to Nagda near Udaipur. There a Śaiva ascetic named Hārītarāśi or Hārīta-ṛṣi one day saw the boy tending cows and accepted him as his disciple. Through his grace, Bappa obtained many supernatural gifts and ultimately succeeded in ousting the Mori ruler of Chitor. Besides its nature as a folk-tale and close resemblance to the legend about his ancestor, the ascetic Hārīta in it seems to have been borrowed from the mention of Pañcaśikha Hārīta in the inscriptions of the Kalyāṇa Cālukyas.[32] Thus the later Cālukya inscriptions had also a part in the development of the Guhila legends.

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29. IA, Vol. XVI, p. 21.

30. *Bombay Gazetteer* (BG). Vol. I, Part II, p 339.

31. Loc. cit.

32. *GK*, pp 24-25.

II. The claim of mixed Brāhmaṇa - Kṣatriya blood

We have seen above how the Guhilas were originally Nāgara Brāhmaṇas though in the late medieval period they claimed generally to be Kṣatriyas of the solar race and only rarely to be scions of the lunar clan, both of these dynasties being famous in the epics and the purāṇas. The epico-purāṇic genealogy was no doubt concocted with a view to enhance the social prestige of the rulers as was done by numerous other medieval ruling families.

Although the earlier epigraphs of the Guhilas represent them as Brāhmaṇas, one record compares the founder of a branch line of the family with Paraśurāma (whose father was a Brāhmaṇa sage and mother a Kṣatriya girl) and calls him *Brahma-Kṣatrānvita*[33] (literally 'linked to the Brahma and Kṣatra, i.e. the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya') which points to the claim of the status of both the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya as will be seen below.

In the medieval period, as we have said, many ruling families claimed descent from a Nāga as also from the solar, lunar and Yādava clans and from the sacrificial fire-pit for enhancing their social prestige. Reference may be made to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* story of Durlabhavardhana (seventh century A.D), founder of the Kārkoṭa dynasty of Kashmir,[34] the *Prabandhakośa* (A.D. 1349) story of the founder of the Śātavāhana family of the Deccan,[35] the story of the origin of the Nāgavaṃśi Rājput (Kṣatriya) status by the Rājās of Chota Nagpur,[36] and others. That the Nāga progenitor was regarded as a Kṣatriya is suggested also by the fact that Māyideva of the royal family of Kashmir claimed to have belonged to a Brahma-Kṣatra family (*Brahma-Kṣatravaṃśa-dyumaṇi*) because he descended from a Nāgavaṃśa whose progenitor had married a Brāhmaṇa girl (*Brahma-kanyā*) according to an inscription[37] (A.D. 1216) from Chaudadanpur in the Dharwar District of Karṇāṭaka. The Chaudadanpur inscription reminds us of the Chaura temple inscription,[38] according to which the progenitor of the family of the Nāgavaṃśi king Rāmacandra was Ahirāja produced by a Nāga on Mithilā, daughter of

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33. EI, Vol. XII, p. 3. This is the Chastsu inscription of Bālāditya, who was the eighth successor of Dhanika (known dates A.D. 684 and 726) and seems to have flourished about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1371 and 1537, also pp. 389-90; *Bhārata-Kaumudi*, Lucknow, Part I, pp 267ff. It is possible that the introduction of the claim, was associated with the Nāgara Brāhmaṇa (Brāhmaṇa-Nāga) origin of the family. See below.

34. *Rājataraṅgiṇī, III.* 490, 529-30.

35. *Vikrama Volume*, ed. R.K. Mookerji, pp. 663-64.

36. Risely, *People of India*, p. 73; *GK*, p.9.

37. *Journ. Karnatak Univ.*, Vol. No. 2, January, 1959, p. 47.

38. Bhandarkar's List, No. 707.

the sage Jātūkarṇa. Among the stories relating to the origin of the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas of Gujarat also, one legend traces it to a Nāga who assumed the form of a Brāhmaṇa and married a Brāhmaṇa girl who gave birth to a number of his children.[39]

Among other Indian ruling families claiming the Brahma-Kṣatriya status, mention may be made of the Senas who hailed from Karṇāṭa, but settled in Bengal. The early Sena ruler Sāmantasena is described in his grandson's records either as belonging to the Brahma-Kṣatriya family or as a Kṣatriya of the lunar race, a record of his great great-grandson representing him as belonging to the family of the Kṣatriyas of Karṇāṭa.[40] Thus the Senas originally claimed both Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya blood, but later they stressed only on the Kṣatriya blood in their veins. This seems to be due to the fact that there was no caste restriction in the matter of marriage in royal families which were mostly claiming to be Kṣatriya, so that Kṣatriya blood soon came to be predominant even in a Brāhmaṇa family of rulers. That is how rulers of the Kadamba family founded by the Brāhmaṇa Mayūraśarman soon assumed names ending in the Kṣatriya cognomen *Varman*.[41]

Two other earlier Karṇāṭa dynasties of Brahma-Kṣatriyas were those of *Mahāsāmanta* Māciyarasa of Māṭūravaṃśa, who was a feudatory of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV and is known from inscriptions of A.D. 930[42] and Cāuṇḍarāya, the general of the Westren Gaṅga kings Mārasiṃha III (c. 960-73 A.D.) Rājamalla IV (c. 977-85 A.D.)[43]

That the Brahma-Kṣatriya family originated from the union of persons belonging to the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya communities is also suggested by certain inscriptions from Campā in Vietnam where Indian culture spread in early times along with the other territories of Indochina and Indonesia. Thus king Rudravarman (seventh century A.D.) is described in one epigraph as the son of a Brāhmaṇa from the daughter of Manorathavarman (who must have claimed to be a Kṣatriya), but in another record as the scion of a Brahma-Kṣatriya family.[44] Bhadreśvaravarman, who was the son of king Prakāśadharman from a Brāhmaṇa girl, is described as belonging to both the Kṣatra and Brahma communities.[45] That the Brahma-Kṣatriya rulers often preferred to represent

39. R.P. Chanda, *Indo-Aryan Races*, p. 182.
40. N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 46, verse 5; pp. 61-62' verses 2-4; p. 110, verse 4.
41. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, pp. 228-29.
42. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (ARIE), 1958-59, Nos. B 536 and 538.
43. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talakad*, p. 11.
44. R.C. Majumdar, *Champa*, Book III, p. 10, text line 3, pp. 16 ff.
45. Ibid., pp. 17-18, verses 12-13.

themselves as Kṣatriya is shown not only by the case of the Senas referred to above, but also by the description of Jayaharivarman once as belonging to the Brahma-Kṣatriya community but elsewhere as a Kṣatriya on account of both his father and mother.[46] This probably suggests that the father of Jayaharivarman was not really a Kṣatriya, but a Brahma-Kṣatriya.

An inscription[47] (A.D. 781) of king Jayavarman of Kamboja or Cambodia refers to his Brahma-Kṣatriya origin when it describes him as 'born of the parts of the Brahma-Kṣatra (i.e., the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya)'.

It will be seen that, with the exception of a branch of the Guhila house of Mewar, which was essentially a Nāgara-Brāhmaṇa family sometimes claiming a Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin, the people calling themselves Brahma-Kṣatriya belonged to South India and the land beyond the Bay of Bengal where Indian culture was dominated by the South Indian immigrants. Of course the Paurava dynasty is described in a purāṇic passage as the source of the Brahma-Kṣatra (i.e. both the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas)[48] meaning, however, that, though the Pauravas were Kṣatriyas, there were Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya families among the clans descended from them. It has probably little to do with the Brahma-Kṣatriya status. However, the South Indian association of the claim of this status reminds us of the fact that in an inscription[49] of Vikramacoḍa, governor of Veṅgī (A.D. 1092-1118), the Rathakāras, known from an epigraph of A.D. 1169 to have comprised the carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, and stone-masons, is described as 'the children of the Brahma-Vaiśya (i.e., the Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya communities)'.[50]

46. Ibid., Books I-II, p. 215.

47. R.C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, p. 56-"*Brahma-Kṣatr-aṁśa-bhava.*"

48. F.E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text* etc., p. 8 *(Brahma-Kṣatrasya yo yoniḥ)*, 66; Monier-Williams' *Skt. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.; cf. GK, p. 7.

49. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1919, No. 208.

50. K.A.N. Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd ed., p. 549. The said four together with the brassmith are called Pāñcāḷar in Tamil Nadu. In Bengal, nine castes called Navaśāk, Navaśākh or Navasāyak, are similarly grouped - *Gopo Mālī tathā Tailī Tantrī Modaka-Vārujī | Kulālaḥ Karmakāraś=ca Nāpito nava sāyakāḥ ||* i.e., milkman (specially those who have taken to cultivation and are called Sadgop), florist, oilman, weaver, confectioner, grower of betel leaves, potter, smith and barber; cf. also *Tilī Mālī Tāmulī | Gop Nāpit Gochālī | Kāmār Kumār Puṇṭalī ||*, in which Tāmulī and Gochālī are both associated with betel leaves and Puṇṭalī is explained as the seller of perfumes (Gandhavaṇik). Tantrī (weaver) and Modak (confectioner) are not-clear in this list. See Haricharan Bandyopadhyay, *Vaṅgīya Śabdakoṣa*, s.v.; and Jñānendramohan Das, *Bāṅglā Bhāṣār Abhidhān*, s.v. However, nothing is know from early or medieval records about their claim like that of the Rathakāras of the south though such claims are now developing in emulation of their South India counterparts.

III. Absorption of the Foreigners and Non-aryans in the Brahmanical Society and the claim of Fire Origin

The leaders of early Indian society tried to accommodate all peoples including the foreigners and Non-aryans of various grades of culture suitably in their conventional scheme of the fourfold classification of society. Thus Manu[51] speaks at one place of the Jhalla, Malla, Licchavi, Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa as descendants of the Vrātya Rājanya (Kṣatriya) and, elsewhere, of the Pauṇḍraka, Coḍa (or Oḍra), Draviḍa, Kamboja, Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Pahlava, Cīna, Kirāta, Ḍarada and Khasa as Kṣatriya degraded to the status of the Vṛṣala (Śūdra or out-caste), owing to their neglect of prescribed rites and disrespect shown to the Brāhmaṇas. The arbitrary nature of the scheme is demonstrated by the following facts. Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*[52] regards the Śakas and Yavanas as *Aniravasita* Śūdras. The *Gautama Dharmasūtra*[53] says that the Yavanas sprang from the Śūdra female and the Kṣatriya male. According to the *Mahābhārata*,[54] the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas descended respectively from Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, the four discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race. Elsewhere, however, the same epic says that the Pahlavas, Draviḍas, Śakas, Yavanas, Śavaras, Pauṇḍras, Kirātas, Siṃhalas, Varvaras, Khasas, Pulindas, Cīnas, Hūṇas, Keralas and other Mlecchas were created by Vasiṣṭha's cow out of her own body.[55] The same story is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[56] where, however, we have the Pahlavas, Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Barbaras, Mlecchas, Hāritas and Kirātas in the list. According to a well-known Purāṇic story, the Ikṣvāku king Sagara defeated the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas together with their allies, the Śakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas; but although he destroyed the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas, only the performance of the prescribed duties of the Kṣatriya by their allies was prohibited since their lives had to be spared at the request of the sage Vasiṣṭha.[57] The list of the peoples thus humiliated by Sagara is given elsewhere as Śaka, Yavana, Pārada, Kamboja, Pahlava and Khasa, and at a third place as Śaka, Yavana, Kamboja, [Pahlava], Kaulisarpa, Mahiṣika, Darva, Cola and Kerala.[58]

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51. *Manusmṛti*, X. 22, 43 and 44.
52. On Pāṇini, II, iv, 10.
53. IV. 21; cf. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 240.
54. *Ādiparvan*, ch. 85, 34; cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. 34. 30.
55. *Ādiparvan*, ch. 175. 36-38.
56. *Bālakāṇḍa*, Canto 54. 18-23; 55. 2-3.
57. *Harivaṃśa*, I. 13. 30 ff., etc.; Sircar, SSAAMI, Vol. I, pp. 41 ff.
58. Cf. *GK*, p. 17.

This attitude of the leaders of early Indian society is interesting in view of the fact that many clans of the Rājputs, who now claim to be the most blue-blooded among Kṣatriyas, were either of foreign or of Non-aryan origin. Thus the Solaṅkīs (Caulukyas or Cālukyas) and Rōṭhoḍs (Rāṣṭrakūṭas) are of Karṇāṭa origin, and the Paḍihārs (Pratihāras) were foreigners of the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock. The Hūṇas themselves are sometimes regarded as one of the thirty six respectable Rājput clans.[59]

The *Cand Rāisā* and other late records group together the four Rājput clans of the Pavār (Paramāra), Paḍihār (Pratihāra), Cauhān (Cāhamāna) and Solaṅkī (Caulukya) as the Agni-kula, i.e., originated from a sacrificial fire-pit of the sage Vasiṣṭha on Mt. Abu in the Sirohi District of Rajasthan.[60] This is a folk tale of no historical value at all since it is totally unsupported by genuine early evidence as we shall see below. However, it has been supposed that the Agni-kula tradition refers to a rite of purgation by fire, which removed the impurity of the foreigners and enabled them to enter tnto the Hindu caste system.[61] It may be pointed out in the first place that the question is not only of foreigners alone but of foreigners and Non-aryans while some of the so-called Agni-kula people (e.g. the Paramāras) were neither foreigners nor Non-aryans. What is of even greater importance is that there was absolutely no necessity of a fire-rite for the Indianised foreigners and Hinduised Non-aryans to claim a place in the Brāhmaṇical system as the attitude of the leader of the society, to which reference has been made above, would show. When a foreign or a respectable aboriginal tribe became Hinduised, its members may have claimed the status of the Kṣatriya though orthodox Brāhmaṇists were inclined to assign the position of degraded Kṣatriya at least to the people of the ruling families while the rank and file as they developed into a caste could have been classed as Śūdra although they themselves would claim to be Kṣatriya. The ruling families succeeded in maintaining their social status by contracting matrimonial alliance with other Indian ruling families (mostly Kṣatriya) since, as we have said, caste played little part in the matter of marriage in royal families. Thus we hear of matrimony between the Mauryas and the Seleucid Greeks, between the Ikṣvākus of Vijaypurī and the Śakas, between the Brāhmaṇa Vākāṭakas and the Non-Brāhmaṇa Guptas, between the Dravidian Śātavāhanas claiming Brāhmaṇa status and the Śakas, and the like. What has been said above will explain why Maurya Candragupta is addressed

59. Ibid., pp. 17 and 43, note 5.

60. Cf. Tod, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 112 ff.

61. See Crooke in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1911, p. 42; Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 428; Tripathi, *Hist. of Kanauj*, p. 221, etc.

by a Brāhmaṇa as a Vṛṣala in the *Mudrārākṣasa*[62] while his son Bindusāra claims to be a Mūrdhābhiṣikta Kṣatriya in the *Divyāvadāna,*[63] and why the Śākyas claim to be Kṣatriyas of the Ikṣvāku clan[64] though Gautama the Buddha of that clan is called Vṛṣala by a Brāhmaṇa.[65]

The rise of Paramāra from the sacrificial fire-pit of Vasiṣṭha on Mt. Abu is the earliest Agni-kula story in Rājput history and is first noticed in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (beginning of the eleventh century A.D.) and in the Paramāra inscriptions of the middle of the same century.[66] The story seems to have been fabricated by Parimala *alias* Padmagupta, author of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita,* out of similar earlier stories which had been prevalent in South India as we shall see.[67] The fabricated nature of the story is clear from the fact that, according to the Abu inscription[68] (A.D. 1230), not Paramāra, but Dhūmarāja belonging to Paramāra's lineage sprang from Vasiṣṭha's fire-pit. Again the Harsola plates[69] (A.D. 949) represent Paramāra Vākpati I as descended from the *kula* or family of Akālavarṣa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Kṛṣṇa II or III), though he may have been related to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas on his mother's side. The forces of Vākpati's grandson Sīyaka II which looted Mānyakheṭa, the capital of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, are called Mālava in Dhanapāla's *Paiyalacchī* (A.D. 972-73)[70] so that the Paramāras may have been Mālavas represented in the *Mahābhārata*[71] as scions of the Madra king Aśvapati.

There is no unanimity in the tradition of Cāhamāna origin, though the Agni-kula myth is not mentioned in the epigraphic and literary records of the Imperial branch of the dynasty. According to Jayānaka's *Pṛihvīrājavijaya* (twelfth century A.D.) and Nayacandra-sūri's *Hammīra-mahākāvya* (fourteenth century A.D.), the eponymous Cāhamāna sprang from the solar orb; but this cannot be reconciled with other traditions about the origin of the clan such as the creation of Cāhamāna himself or of the Cāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasiṣṭha or by the god Indra.[72]

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62. Act III.
63. Ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 270; cf. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text,* etc., p. 25.
64. Malalasekara, *Dict. Pali Proper Names,* Vol. II, pp. 959 ff., s.v. *Sakyā,* etc.
65. Ibid., p. 844, s.v. *Vasala Sutta.*
66. Ray, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 841.
67. Cf. GK, p. 18, note.
68. Ray, op. cit., p. 1012.
69. EI, Vol. XIX, pp. 236 ff.
70. Ray, op. cit., pp. 850-51.
71. Cf. III. 296. 59-60.
72. Ray, op.cit., p. 1053; EI, Vol. XXIX, p. 179.

The Gujarat chronicles do not know the Agni-kula origin of the Solaṅkīs; but according to the epigraphs of the family, the eponymous Caulukya was created by the god Brahmāṇa out of his *culuka* (water pot or palm hollowed to hold water).[73] The story seems to have been borrowed from a legend about the Cālukyas of Kalyan as found in Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*,[74] though the earlier Parbhani plates (A D. 1966) of a branch line mention the family as sprang from the sun-god[75] while the Bilhari inscription[76] (tenth century A.D.) speaks of the Caulukya dynasty as originated from the *culukā* of the sage Droṇa, son of Bharadvāja.

The Rajor inscription[77] (A.D. 959) speaks of the Pratihāra family as belonging to the Gurjara stock, and these Gurjaras apperently entered India in the company of the Hūṇas and some other foreign peoples of Central Asian origin. *Pratihāra* is an official designation meaning 'a door-keeper' or 'a chamberlain' just as the dynastic name *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* was essentially a similar designation meaning 'governor of a *rāṣṭra* or Pargaṇa'. The rulers of the Imperial branch of the Pratihāra family, who were correctly called Gurjara by their contemporaries,[78] however, claimed to be called Pratihāra because they claimed to have descended from the Ikṣvāku hero Lakṣmaṇa who once acted as the door-keeper of his brother, king Rāma.[79] The Jodhpur Inscription[80] (A.D. 837) of a branch line traces the ancestry of the Gurjara-Pratihāras to the Brāhmaṇa Hariścandra Rohilladdhi whose Brāhmaṇa wife is stated to have given birth to the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras and the Kṣatriya wife begetting the Kṣatriya Pratihāras. Rohilladdhi and his grandson Narabhaṭa Pellāpelli appear to have borne un-Indian names. What is even more interesting is that Hariścandra is represented as born in the family of the Ikṣvāku prince Lakṣmaṇa and is sometimes called the *guru* of the *Pratihāras*. Here is thus a clear attempt to amalgamate two different stories about the origin of the family into one tradition. The *Pratihāras* of the branch line apparently at first claimed Hariścandra as their ancestor; but Lakṣmaṇa was later brought into accommodate the claim of the Imperial branch of the family. Another interesting fact is that, according to records like the Nausari plates[81] (A.D. 706), the Gurjaras of the Nāndīpurī branch claimed descent not from Lakṣmaṇa, but from the epic

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73. Cf. EI, Vol. XXXVI, p. 16, verse 6.
74. BG, Vol. I, Part II. p 339.
75. *Journal of Bhāratīya Itihāsa Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala*, Vol, XIII, No. 3, pp. 33ff.
76. BG, op. cit., p. 180; Ray, op.cit., p.763, note 2.
77. EI, Vol. III, pp. 263ff.
78. Tripathi, op. cit. p.223.
79. Ibid., p. 224.
80. EI, Vol. XVIII, pp. 87ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 26.
81. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1218.

hero Karṇa, king of the Aṅga country. In spite of all this confusion, there is no claim in the records of the family in favour of its fire-pit origin.

It will thus be seen that the Agni-kula origin was claimed only by the Paramāras who were probably offshoots of the Mālavas of ancient India.

IV. South India, the Probable Source of the Claim of Fire Origin

An inscription [82] (eleventh century A.D.) from Hottal in the Nanded District, Maharashtra, belongs to a family of local chiefs, called the fire family. We are told that the sage Agastya had his hermitage in the valley of Mt. Kailāsa in the Himalayas and that a hero sprang out of his sacrificial fire-pit, who became the ancestor of the rulers mentioned in the epigraph.

The well-known rivalry between the Valaṅgai (right-hand) and Iḍangai (left-hand) classes of Tamil society is first traced in Cola inscriptions of the 11th century A.D. An inscription[83] of Kulottuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1216) gives the earliest account of the belief of the Iḍaṅgai regarding their origin. It is said that they were created out of the fire-pit for the protection of the sacrifice of the sage Kaśyapa and were settled in the Cola country during the rule of a mythical king named Arindama, who is said to have brought a large number of holy and learned Brāhmaṇas from Antarvedi, i.e. the land between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. It is further said that the ancestors of the Iḍaṅgai castes (ninty-eight in number according to a later record) accompanied the Brāhmaṇas as the bearers of their slippers and umbrellas and received five villages in the Tiruchirapalli District.[84] What is of interest to us in the present context is that these Iḍaṅgai Tamilians are said to have been born out of the fire-pit of Kaśyapa and not of Vasiṣṭha or Agastya. It thus seems that the fire-pit of any sage would serve the purpose of the seekers of social prestige just as the *culuka* of Brahman, Pañcaśikhin or Droṇa or anybody else would be enough to explain the origin of the name Cālukya.

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82. EI, Vol. XXXV, pp. 159ff.
83. K.A.N. Sastri, op. cit., pp. 550-52.
84. The late medieval story of the Bengal *Kulapañjīs* regarding the import of five Brāhmaṇas and their five Kāyastha servants by king Ādiśūra of Bengal from Kānyakubja or some other locality of the Antarvedi region must have been borrowed from the Tamil story. It seems to have been brought to Eastern India by South Indians who settled in Bengal during the age of the Pālas and Senas. See Sircar SSAAMI. Vol. I. pp. 28 ff.

There is even earlier prevalence of the Agni-kula tradition in South India. Thus the Tamil *Puṟanāṉūru* (200–01), which may be assigned to an age before the rise of the Imperial Pallavas about the close of the sixth century A.D., represents a petty Veḷ chief as 'come out of the sacrificial fire-pit of the sage'.[85]

The instances cited above will show that the claim of fire origin was known in South Indian tradition from a period before the sixth century A.D., probably from the early centuries of the Christian era[86] while, in North India, it is noticed for the first time in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* by Padmagupta *alias* Parimala who wrote his poem about the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Thus it is very probable that the idea was borrowed by the northern dynasties from the south through the author of the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, who may have been a southerner.

85. S.K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India and South Indian History and Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 861ff; K.A.N. Sastri, *Hist. S. Ind.*, 3rd ed., p. 121.

86. This is also suggested by the early spread of the idea in the land beyond the Bay of Bengal.

Dr. D. SRIDHARA BABU

COLIN MACKENZIE; A DYNAMIC INDIANIST*

Colin Mackenzie, the great antiquarian, was born on the Island of Lewis, Scotland, in the year 1754. Starnoway, the village where Colin Mackenzie was born, was a trading centre of some importance as well as an entreport in the fishing industry. Murdoch Mackenzie, the father of Colin, was a merchant and was also selected to fill the responsible position of a Postmaster of Starnoway. Thus he became the first Postmaster on the Island of Lewis. By his wife, Barbara Mackenzie, he had three sons, namely Alexander, Colin and Kenneth, and also a daughter Mary.

Colin Mackenzie was employed in his youth by Francis, the fifth Lord Napier of Merchiston, to collect information regarding the use of logarithms among the Hindus, for a contemplated, but never completed, biography of that nobleman's ancestor, 'John Napier the inventor of logarithms.[1] Francis employed Colin particularly to collect all available information about the knowledge of Mathematics in general, and the use of logarithms in particular, possessed by the Hindus. It was Mackenzie's first job, which paved the way for his travel through the ancient world of Hindu wisdom as a researcher. Before this undertaking, Colin had been an inspector in Customs, where he obtained long leaves of absence from the Customs authorities, probably to do justice to the research project entrusted to him by Francis. The selection of Mackenzie for this job suggests that he possessed a remarkable faculty for research. His subsequent career of intellectual dynamism fully confirms this supposition.

He left for India with the avowed intention of "prosecuting his oriental researches" after the death of the fifth Lord Napier. This was

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* This is a paper read at the History Section of All India Oriental Conference, 24th Session, held at Varanasi, October, 1968.

1. *Jaurnal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. Vol. I. p. 333.

really an exceptional reason for him to enter in the service of the East India Company In 1781 Kenneth Mackenzie, the last Earl of the Seaforth family, procured for Colin a Madras Cadetship. Colin landed in India in the year 1782, with letters of recommendation to Lord Macartney and also Mrs. Hestor Johnston, the favorite daughter of his former employer, Lord Napier. Her husband, Samuel Johnston, was at that time stationed at Madura in the Civil Service of the East India Company. Lord Napier's daughter and her husband invited Mackenzie to Madura, the ancient seat of Hindu learning. Soon after his arrival at Madras, Mackenzie paid a visit to the Johnstons at Madura. At Madura, he first made personal acquaintance with native scholars. Here he conceived the idea of forming collections, illustrative of Indian history and antiquities. In this respect, Mr. W C. Mackenzie,[2] the author of the *Biography of Colin Mackenzie*, rightly observes as follows: "The visit to Madura dates the commencement of many years of research into the antiquities of India." It was here in Madura that Mackenzie made first-hand contact with Brahmin pandits. Hestor Johnston herself engaged in carrying out her deceased father's intention to write a biography of John Napier. She had been studying the use of logarithms among Hindus with the view of completing the life of the inventor of logarithms after her father's death. Common interest for research studies must have made Mackenzie's visit to her hospitable home a happy and mutually helpful experience. Hester Johnston had in her employ the most distinguished Brahmin in the neighbourhood of Madura, engaged in the work of research for her studies. Mackenzie's visit to Madura had a lasting influence on his later life He probably drew inspiration from her to employ the learned Brahmins to assist in his research studies. H. H. Wilson, a renowned orientalist, writes: "Mackenzie's intercourse with the Brahmins impressed him with idea that the most valuable (matter) for a history of India might be collected in different parts of the Peninsula, and during his residence at Madura, he first conceived and formed the plan of making that collection, which, afterwards, became the favourite object of his life, and which is now the most valuable collection of historical documents relating to India that was ever made by any one individual in Europe or in Asia."[3]

In later life, Mackenzie appointed learned scholars like Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Boraiah and his brothers Veṅkaṭa Laxmaiah and Veṅkaṭa Rāmasvāmi to collect the important material to pursue his research studies in the field of Indian History and Culture. Mackenzie knew how to get all that they were capable of giving from his Brahmin and other

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2 *Colonel Colin Mackenzie – First Surveor-Genyeral of India.* W.C. Mackenzie. Pub. W & R. Chambers Ltd. Edinburgh and London, 1952.

3. Wilson's *Descriptive catalogue of the Mackenzie collection,* Madras, 1882, p viii

COL. COLIN MACKENZIE AND HIS ASSOCIATES

Co'. Colin Mackenzie (centre) with Kavali Venkata Lakshmaiah and others

assistants. He was sympathetic towards them in all respects. They were devoted to him, inspired by his personal affection for them. The result is a stupendus collection of historical and cultural value.

On the 16th May, 1783, Colin Mackenzie was appointed as a second lieutenant in the Madras Engineers. His subsequent commissions were: First lieutenant-6th March, 1789; Captain-16th August, 1793; Major-1st January, 1806; Breut lieutenant-Colonel-25th October, 1809; Regimental lieutenant-Colonel-15th November, 1810; Colonel-12th August, 1819.

From 1783 to 1796, the first thirteen years of his Indian career, Col. Mackenzie was almost exclusively engaged in military and professional duties. He was employed towards the close of the war of 1783, in the provinces of Coimbatore and Dindigal; then in engineering duties in Madras, Nellore and Guntur. He served throughout the war from 1790 to 1792 in Mysore and afterwards he was sent by Lord Cornwallis to investigate the geography of the territory just ceded by the Nizam of Hyderabad and subsequently in Ceylon. After his return from the Ceylon expedition in 1796 he had a fresh impulse to collect manuscripts and historical and literary information of India. He encountered many difficulties and discouragements but he prosecuted his researches with success.

As a result of his fruitful investigation of the geography of the Deccan, he prepared his first map[4] of the Deccan. Then he campaigned against Tippu Sultan in 1799 and after the fall of Śrīraṅgapaṭnam, he was ordered to make a survey of the Mysore territory. Mackenzie was employed on this duty until 1806, the result being a survey of forty thousand miles of country. He prepared a series of maps and general memoirs containing many statistics and much other information. After much research, four of these volumes were restored to the India Office long afterwards, but three were still missing when the second edition of Clement Mercham's *India Survey* was published in 1878.

In 1807, Colin Mackenzie was appointed Surveyor-general of Madras. In 1811, he accompanied the Military expedition to Jāva, where he was active in collecting manuscripts. He remained in Jāva as Commanding Engineer until March, 1816. After returning to India, he resumed his surveys and explorations, visiting every place of interest between the Krisna and Cape Comorin, attended by a staff of Indian assistants, collecting and copying ancient records. In 1819, he was made the first Surveyor-general of India. He died at his residence near Calcutta in May, 1821, at the age of 68.

4. This is now in the British Museum. Additional manuscripts No. 26012.

At Hyderabad, Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Boriah was introduced to Colin Mackenzie by his brother, Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Nārāyaṇasvāmi. Impressed by his research capacities and intellectual abilities, Mackenzie appointed Boriah immediately as head clerk and interpreter. While Mackenzie campaigned against Śrīraṅgapaṭnam, Boriah followed his master and wrote a *Kāvyam*, depicting the victory over Tippu Sahib. Boriah helped Mackenzie a lot to decipher Telugu and Kannaḍa inscriptions, to collect the reports and local histories of villages and to secure ancient manuscripts and coins. Mackenzie greatly lamented the premature death of Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Boriah, the poineer among Indian historians. The following words from Mackenzie's letter to the East India Company show his high regard towards Boriah:

> "The connection then formed with one person, a native, a Brahmin (the lamented C.V. Boraiah) was the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any genius of the language myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual, the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I had so long sought —— from the moment the talents of lamented Boriah were applied, a new avenue to Hindu knowledge was opened and though I was deprived of him at an early age, his example and instructions were so happily followed up by his brothers and disciples —— ."

After the death of Boriah, his brother, Laxmaiah, equally talented, served Mackenzie as a chief interpreter and research assistant. A particular mention should be made about Mackenzie's benevolence towards Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Laxmaiah. In his will, written on the 3rd of August, 1811, he allotted ten per-cent of his property to Laxmaiah. Mackenzie wrote in his will as follows:

> "—— to my servant Cavelly V. Lachmaiah, Boriah and his younger brother, Rāmasvāmi —— In some compensation for the useful services of the said Laxmaiah and of his late brother C. Boriah. I desire that my brother, sister and friends, regarding the value I had for these persons, will try no means to attempt to lessen or defeat my intention in this respect, which I wish them to consider sacred and inviolable."

Even in another will of Mackenzie's, written on the 18th of February, 1815, the name of Laxmaiah was mentioned with utmost appreciation.

Mackenzie employed many clerks, such as Puligaḍḍa Mallayya, Veṅkaṭa Rao, Nārāyaṇa Rao, Viṭṭalanāyaṇayya, Bābū Rao, Ānanda Rao and others, paying their salaries from his own pocket. The task of these assistants was to visit various local villages, to inquire about the things of historical importance and also to collect the copies of the inscriptions and manuscripts.

During the years 1793 to 1816, Mackenzie collected 1,568 manuscripts of historical and literary importance, in various languages such as Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam, Oriya, Marāṭhi, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, Hindustāni, Javanese and Burmese. In addition to these manuscripts, according to Clement Marcham, his collections included 2,070 local histories and legends; 8,076 copies of inscriptions; 79 maps; 2,630 drawings; 6,218 coins; 106 sculptural reproductions; and 40 articles of antiquarian interest.

Mackenzie's collections were purchased by Rawdon Hastings Marquis, the then governor-general of India (1813-23), for a sum of 10,000 pounds. They are said to have cost Mackenzie 15,000 pounds. Had Mackenzie been allowed to leave for Europe to arrange and systematise his collections as advised by Sir Alexander Johnston, it would have been a great gain to oriental history and literature. Before this leave could be arranged by the East India Company, Mackenzie died at his residence in India in 1821.

Mackenzie's own catalogue, a scholarly painstaking work, was edited by Horace Wilson, the Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and published in Calcutta in 1828. Kāvali Veṅkaṭa Laxmaiah helped Wilson in preparing this first catalogue of Mackenzie's collection. A second and enlarged edition of a descriptive catalogue of manuscripts by H.H. Wilson, with *a biographical* sketch of Mackenzie, was published at Madras in 1882. Most of Mackenzie's Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Javanese and Burmese collections were sent to England in three batches in 1823 and 1825, and with some beautiful specimens of carved stone work forwarded by him in his own lifetime, are now in the India Museum at South Kensington.

All the manuscripts retaling to South India of his collection were housed in 1828 in the Library of the College Fort Saint George. There they remained in a confused and utterly hopeless state until 1830, when the Madras Literary Society suggested that an attempt should be made to extract information from them. This appears to have been dropped for lack of funds.

In 1836, the Rev. William Taylor, an orientalist, reported on Mackenzie's collection in a catalogue of 570 pages. Rev. Taylor was granted then, by the government of Madras with the sanction of the East India Company, an allowance of Rs. 400/- p.m. for 18 months, including the maintinance of a small establishment of assistants. He named his catalogue "A Catalogue Raisonne of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the College Fort Saint George in charge of the Board of Examiners."

Afterwards, Mackenzie's collections were shifted from College Fort Saint George to the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. Sir C.P. Brown, the famous Telugu scholar arranged to recopy the manuscripts. Dr. Eustar Opert, the curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, with the assistance of Varadācārya, prepared an index to 62 Mackenzie manuscript volumes, which had been recopied at the suggestion of Sir C.P. Brown. Because of the incomprehensiveness of the catalogues prepared by Wilson and Taylor, the Madras Government Oriental Library published two volumes of catalogues about Mackenzie's "Local Tracts" in Telugu and in English. About three decades ago, recognizing the value of Mackenzie's manuscripts, the authorities of the Madras University got nearly 176 volumes of Mackenzie manuscripts translated into English from Telugu by two veteran scholars, the late Śrī Mānavalli Rāmakrishṇa Kavi, and Śrī Niḍadavolu Veṅkaṭa Rao the then Telugu professor of Madras University. These Mackenzie manuscripts are well-known as the "Mackenzie Kaifiyats."[5]

The Mackenzie Kaifiyats cover various subjects of historical interest, such as the historical background of the villages and wells etc., the places where minerals are available, the historical background of digging the tanks, legends of pilgrim centres, the details of agriculture, the accounts of Jamīndāris, industrial centres, the methods of taxation, village-boundaries, socio-economic conditions of various periods, the biographies of various rulers, pharmans, Sanads, and geneologies of different families of kings of different periods.

Among the Mackenzie manuscripts are to be found some of the interesting books of pioneer Indian Historical writings *Karṇāṭaka Rājākkaḷ Savistāra Carita,* or a Comprehensive Dynastic History of Karnāṭaka,[6] written by Narayanan of the Anantaken race of Gingee, was in Mackenzie's collection. This book was composed when Lord Bentick was the Governor of Madras, at the special request of William MacLeod,

5. Kaifiyat, an Arabic word, means account, statement, narrative, a curious incident.

6. *Examination and Analysis of the Mackenzie Manuscripts.* William Taylor, 1838.

the then commissioner of Arcot, who designed to write down a narrative of the events in India from the earliest times, since such an account would be very acceptable to Europeans.

There are some quasi-historical Telugu poetical works, such as *Kṛṣṇarāya Vijayam* or the Triumph of Kṛṣṇarāya, written by Veṅgaiyam, brief narratives concerning the rule of Setupathis, the feudatory princes at Ramnad, the accounts of Tirumālanāyaka of Madura and his descendants, *Kaliyugarāja Carita* or an account of the Kings of Kaliyuga and *Tañjāvūru carita* or an account of Tanjore are only a few Telugu manuscripts among Mackenzie's collections. There is also one Telugu manuscript called "*Malayādri Narasiṃha Chandassu*", a treatise on prosody by Kavi Ketana, dedicated to Malayādri Narasiṃha.

There is a manucript containing a brief description of the contents of the Vedas, Śāstras, Purāṇas besides accounts of books of general literature and various temples. This work is similar to an encyclopaedia, or a book of knowledge. Regarding this manuscript, the following observations were made by Rev. William Taylor: "The foregoing is a sort of catalogue raisonee, although not logical in method. The preparation of it must have demanded considerable pains and care. I think that several persons must have been engaged in its compilement. The language is neat and correct, whereever there is detail or explanation. Altogether this seems to be a valuable document for occasional reference...........A full translation might be desirable to present to the learned in Europe or elsewhere since it offers a more complete view of the precise nature of native literature in the Tamil country than could be elsewhere obtained, certainly such as no European could prepare."

Among Malayalam manuscripts, there is a manuscript containing 19 sections in which hunting, agriculture, laws and other details of Keraladeśa were recorded. Most of the contents of this book are the result of queries circulated by Mr. Baber, perhaps at the suggestion of Colonel Mackenzie.

The following is a list of the documents and notes mentioned in the frequently quoted letter[7] from Colin Mackenzie to Sir Johnston, dated February, 1817, with Mackenzie's notes:

1 Journals, notes, observations and memoirs for thirty-four years, kept at intervals on successive journeys and campaigns through all the provinces subject to Fort Saint George (excepting Malabar and the Circars north of Krishna) from 1783 to 1793.

7. Extracts copied from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. vol. I. pp. 344-60 under the heading of 'Particulars of recollection of notes. observations, journals and collection of manuscripts, inscriptions, drawings etc. made by Colonel Mackenzie in India.'

2 Memoirs of the Survey of Mysore, geographical, statistical and historical.

3 Memoirs of ceded districts.

4 Materials for a general view of the south of the Peninsula.

5 Material for a complete view of geography, statistics and history, ancient and modern, of Java and Dutch dependencies on the Eastern Islands.

6 A great object of the inquiries was to collect and obtain translations of materials of various descriptions, illustrative of history, antiquities and institutions of India.

7 Meterials, memoirs and historical pieces, translated, illustrative of the several pre-Mogul and Mogul Mahammaden dynasties established in the Deccan or the South of India, from the 13th to the 18th century.

8 Material collected and translated, illustrated, by the geography and political arrangements and the provincial divisions of Deccan in its six vice-royalties, from the earlier times until the arrangements made by Asaf Jah (Nizam-ul-mulk) in the beginning of the 18th century.

9 The history and antiquities of the earlier dynasties, unconnected and obscure, yet sufficient matter was found in ancient buildings, coins etc., to furnish materials for a sketch of those customs previous to the Christian era.

10 Drawings, maps, plans and sketches relating to[8] a variety of subjects and different varieties, Śāsanams, grants and edicts etc.

11 Sthalapurāṇams, which comprehend the legends of holy places of Hindus.

12 Laws and institutions of Hindus.

13 Sections of religion: Account of the origin, history and opinions of the followers of the Vedas, the Jainas, the Buddhists, the Śaivas etc.

14 Miscellaneous.

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8. Mackenzie says that there are the three following kinds:

i. Comprehensive copies of the original Śāsanams, transcribed in all parts of the country from stones, generally in copper plates.

ii. Facsimilies and drawings of the most ancient and curious of the above, being those that are antique characters, some now obsolete, some read with difficulty, others entirely unknown.

iii. Translations of the most interesting and curious of the inscriptions from different languages. They are in 15 different languages and 21 different alphabetical characters.

15 Extracts from European authors, translated, on Indian history, antiquities, literature and geography, ancient and modern.

Mackenzie's printed contributions are all of the purely technical kind. They can be listed in the following manner:

1 *The Oriental Repertory*, which was published by Colin Mackenzie at the expense of the East India Company, gives an account of the roads from Nellore to the Western passes and on to Ongole, etc., measured by him in 1788.

2 In another volume of the above mentioned *Oriental Repertory*, there is a history of Kummun Tank "from the relation of Senabella, a fakir to Captain Mackenzie."

3 His contribution to history and religion are to be found in the *Asiatic Annual Register*, *Asiatic Researches*, *the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society and the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.*

i Mackenzie's "life of Hyder Ali" appeared in the *Asiatic Annual Register* (Vol. IV, 1804). The material for this article had been obtained from a paper found in 1787 in the Paymaster's office at Nellore.

ii In the same volume of the Register, under the generalised title of "Characters", are sketches by Mackenzie of Anagondy Rājahs, taken from the verbal account of Timmapah, the representative of that family at Campalore in 1801.

iii In the same volume of the Register, Mackenzie gives an account of the Madhva gurus (probably Madhva gurus) collected when he was at Harryhurr (Harihar) in 1801.

iv Another paper by Mackenzie, printed in the Register, gives a description of the Bhaṭṭa Rājahs, which, he says, "was collected from previous accounts, particularly at Nandicull in 1801."

v The most important of his magazine contributions was an article on the Jains written by Boraiah for Mackenzie. It was published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. IX.

A special mention has to be made regarding Mackenzie's collection of manuscripts deposited in the India House in London. Particularly the catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts informs us of the variety of manuscripts, which include the texts of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Gṛhya Sūtras, Śrauta Sūtras and Kāvyas collected by Colin Mackenzie. In this paper, three manuscripts of historical importance can be mentioned.

1 The *Sarvamānya Campū* an elaborate narrative in Skt. verse and prose of the conflict between Canada (Canda Sahib) and Patte Siṅgh (Fateh Siṅgh) by Rāmacandra, son of Veṅkaṭa pati and grandson of Nārayaṇārya. This was written in Telugu characters. (India House-manuscript No. 7332)

2 The copy of a tāmraśāsana, recording a grant by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, in thirty verses by Śrīnivāsakavi, the ornament of the Kothūri family. (India House-manuscript No. 7196)

3 The *Yācaprabandha*, a panegyric of Yāca, a prince of the Veṅkaṭagiri country, the founder of the dynasty, by Tripurāntaka, son of Bhaṭṭapāda. India House-manuscript No. 7126)

The analysis of unpublished Mackenzie's collection of manuscripts deposited in the India House Library has yet to be made.

During the years 1962 to 1963, Andhra Pradesh Sāhitya Akademi, Hyderabad, had arranged to recopy 181 Kaifiyats of Mackenzie's, at a cost of about 14,000/- rupees. The descriptive catalogue of these manuscripts with a new approach is under preparation. It was recently discovered that the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh has the microfilm copies of some of the Mackenzie Kaifiyats.

In 1976, Professor T. V. Mahalingam published "Mackenzie's Manuscripts. Summaries of the Historical Manuscripts in the Mackenzie's collection, Vol. II (Telugu, Kannaḍa and Marāthi)." (published by the University of Madras).

Mackenzie's service to South Indian history is unparalleled. This type of one man's collection of antiquarian interest is unique. The critical analysis of his collection paves the way to the reconstruction of South Indian history.

T.V. MAHALINGAM

MULLAIVANANĀTHASVĀMIN TEMPLE AT TIRUKKARUGĀVŪR

If it is not possible to confidently outline the 'Early Coḷa Architectural and Sculptural Style', it is largely due to the fact that the studies so far made on them have hardly been commensurate with the number of the extant Early Coḷa edifices. If by 'Early Coḷa' we mean the period from the accession of Vijayālaya to that of Rājarāja I (c. A.D. 850-985) the number of the extant temples in the Tamil country of the period is indeed staggering. A fuller and satisfactory picture of the architectural style operating in different zones in this period can emerge only on the basis of detailed studies of each of the monuments of the period or a good number of representative ones among them.[1] Discussions on and descriptions of individual temples of this period have therefore a special value.

One such temple of importance, though it is hardly well-known, is that of Mullaivananāthasvāmin at Tirukkarugāvūr (popularly known as Tirukkaḷāvūr) in the Pāpanāśam taluk, Thañjāvūr district, Tamilnadu State.[2] According to the legends connected with the temple,

1. Recently S.R. Balasubrahmanyam and Douglas Barrett have made a deep study of many of the Early Coḷa temples (See S.R. Balasubrahmanyam, *Early Coḷa Temples* (A.D. 907-985), Orient Longman Ltd., Delhi; Douglas Barrett, *Early Coḷa Architecture and Sculpture* (A.D. 866-1014), Faber and Faber Limited, London.

2. The village is at a distance of about seven kilometres from Pāpanāśam on the metallic road to Śāliyamaṅgalam and can be reached by bus both from Kumbakoṇam and Tañjāvūr *via* Pāpanāśam.

   Among other temples at the village of Tirukkarugāvūr are a Viṣṇu temple consecrated to Śrī Varadarāja, besides three others respectively dedicated to the village goddesses Māriamman, Draupadiamman, and Mahākāḷi-amman. An epigraph (Appendix A, no. 9; *ARE*, 1910, no. 42) found engraved on the west wall of the central shrine in the Mullaivananāthasvāmin temple, dated in the reign of Parāntaka I (*c.* A.D. 934) mentions two temples *viz.*, those of Kāḷi Piḍāri and Mahāviṣṇu at the village, besides the present temple.

the goddess in it gave succour to the child in the womb of a destitute woman and hence the village in which it is situated came to be called *Tiruk-karu-kāvūr* and the goddess herself *Garbha-rakṣakī*. The Lord of the temple is now called Mullaivananātha. He is also known as Mādhavīvaneśvara, a name derived from the Sanskrit word *Mādhavī* meaning a spring creeper with white fragrant flowers, obviously the same as the Tamil *Mullai* (*Jasminum* sp.). In one inscription[3] in the temple, he is mentioned as Mullaivanam-Uḍaiyār. It is believed that the Moon worshipped the God in the temple. The *Tevāram* hymnists Appar and Tirujñānasambandar have sung about the God.

Architectural and Sculptural Features:

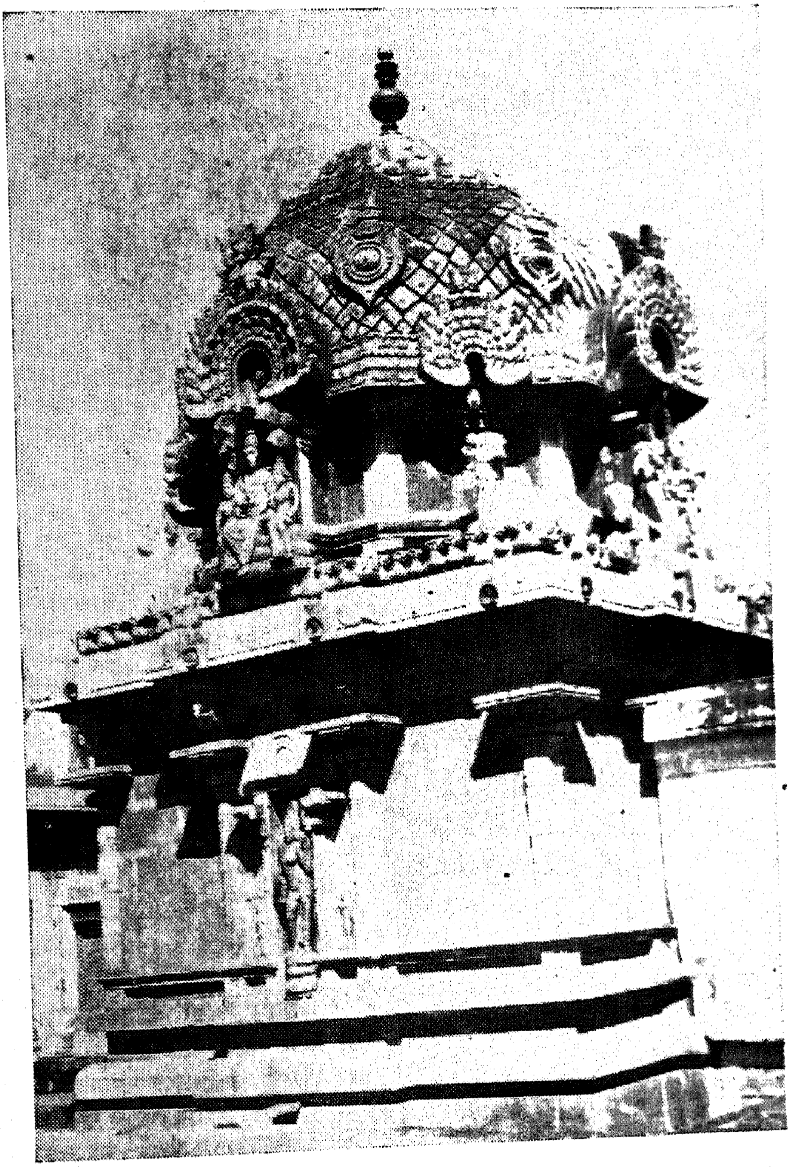
The plan of the temple, like that of all Early Coḷa shrines, is simple, though there are many axial adjuncts and peristylar structures in and around it, built in subsequent times. The central shrine (*garbha-gṛha*) is square and faces west; it is preceded by an *ardha-maṇṭapa*, a *mukha-maṇṭapa* and a *mahā-maṇṭapa*, the last two being later additions. On the northern side of the *mahā-maṇṭapa* and with an entrance from it, is a shrine for Naṭarāja which is also a later addition. The temple complex is of the *parivāra* variety as a few subsidiary shrines like those of Gaṇeśa, Subrahmaṇya and Caṇḍikeśvara are found in the compound. An interesting fact to be noted in this temple is what is described as a 'pit' around the sanctum. In fact this is seen in many temples of the Āditya-Parāntaka period like those at Melappaḷuvūr, Śrīnivāsanallūr, Kaṇḍiyūr and Kumbakoṇam (the Nāgeśvarasvāmin). It is necessary to disabuse our mind regarding this, as the pit is not an architectural feature as seems to be taken by some[4] but is the logical and inevitable result of the rise in the level of the *prākāra* around the sanctum in course of time.

The Mullaivananātha shrine is an example of *ekatala-prāsāda* (single storied). The horizontal zones into which its elevation is disposed consist of an *adhiṣṭhāna* (basement), *bhitti* (wall portion) and *kuḍyastambha* (columnation), *prastara* (architrave), *grīva* (clarestory), *śikhara* (roof) and *stūpi* (finial). The lowermost member of the *adhiṣṭhāna* is the *upāna* which has a band below. It is simple in this shrine while in others, as in the Nāgeśvara at Kumbakoṇam, it consists of a series of stones scalloped on top in the form of lotus petals. The *kumuda* (torus) moulding is chamferred and is rather large in size. An intervening *kaṇṭha* (dado) separates the *kumuda* from the *paṭṭikā*

3. Appendix A, no. 20; *ARE*, 1961-2, no. 394.

4. P.R. Srinivasan, 'Art and Architecture of Kaṇḍiyūr', *Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India*, 1957-8; also J.C. Harle, *Oriental Art* (New Series), iv, 96-108.

MULLAIVANANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE, TIRUKKARUGAVUR



i. Vimana (Western View)

Courtesy, French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry

above; this *kaṇṭha* is relieved at intervals by pilaster strips. Over this *kaṇṭha* are two *paṭṭikās*, one above the other, and between them is another *kaṇṭha* which is also relieved at intervals by pilaster strips; some of these contain sculptured panels in miniature depicting *purāṇic* and other scenes. The lower *paṭṭikā* is plain and the upper one has in its middle a lintel-like projection. This upper *paṭṭikā* which is the top most member of the basement is interrupted by the *devakoṣṭhas* containing stone carvings.

The walls of the shrine are rich with pilasters and niches surmounted by *makara-toraṇas*. The niches are deep cut. In the aureoles are seen warriors seated on lions issuing from the mouths of opposed *makaras*. This is beautified by a topping foliage. In the medallion is seen the figural composition of Śiva with Pārvatī and a bull. The *makara-toraṇa* decorations in some niches are left unfinished. The side pilasters of the niches are plain in the *ardha-maṇṭapa* and rounded in the sanctum. The rounded lotus moulding of the lintel is without denticulations.

As in all temples of the same Age and types the other walls of the shrine are divided into vertical panels by pilasters rising from the *adhiṣṭhāna*. The pilasters are square excepting those of the *devakoṣṭhas* which are octogonal. The shaft in the pilasters has the usual members *viz.*, *padmabandha*, *kalaśa*, *taḍi*, *kumbha*, *phalaka* and *iḍaḷ*. The *padmabandha* is decorated with floral, scrolls and festoons. The *kumbhas* and *kalaśas* are full and are not fully rounded, evidently due to the square shape of the pilaster. It is noteworthy that no dancing figure is seen on the *phalaka* which is thin and square. The corbels are angular and the median band in it has scroll work.

On the projecting platform above the corbel is seen a relief depicting any one of the following: reclining deity, Bālakṛṣṇa, *gaṇa* with snake, bull and dancer. Below the cornice is an excellent *bhūtavari* of high plastic quality. The *bhūtagaṇas* are in a variety of poses; they play musical instruments like drum, cymbals, flute or blow conch, hold a *chatra* or a *chaurie* or cut samarsault; some are monkey-faced and a few have dishevelled hair. The cornice is curved and decorated with scroll work, and has a recessed bottom edge bearing a row of large circles in low relief. The *kūḍus* are covered with scroll work ornamentation and surmounted by *kīrti-mukhas*. Above the cornice is a serried row of *yāḷis* and elephants, some of which have riders.

It has already been noticed that the super structure rising above the entablature is of the *ekatala* variety. It is octogonal in shape. The octogonal *grīva* has a cornice above which are *kūḍus*. The *kūḍus* in all

the four cardinal directions have *siṃhalalāṭas*. Four couchant *nandis* are placed in the four directions by the side of the *grīva*. Above the *śikhara* is the *kalaśa*.

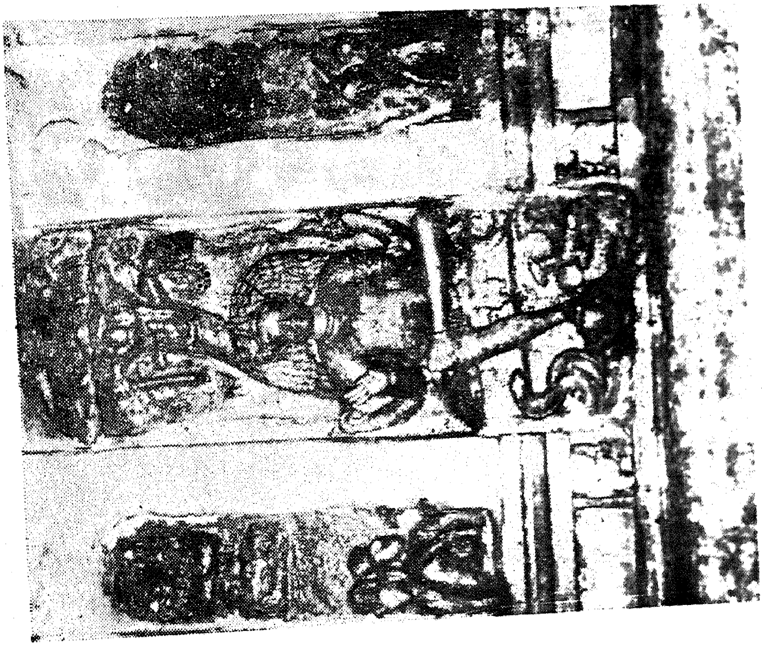
The architectural characteristics of the *parivāra* shrines do not call for any special remarks, as they appear to be relatively later structures, though their foundations might undoubtedly have been coeval in date with that of the main shrine. Only the shrine of Gaṇeśa in the south-west of the main shrine has early features and even in that the *ardha-maṇṭapa* is probably a later addition. The *adhiṣṭhāna* of the shrine of Gaṇeśa consists of an *upāna* (the parts below which are buried), chamferred *kumuda, paṭṭa,* and *ūrdhvapaṭṭa*. In each wall of this shrine are seen four square pilasters. The *kumbha, kalaśa, phalaka* and corbels in these recall to mind those in the main shrine. Interestingly the usual *bhūtavari* below the cornice is replaced here by a moulding with lotus petals; there is also no *kūḍu* in the cornice but scroll work is noticed. Above the cornice is the conventional *vyālavari*. The *grīva* and *śikhara* above the entablature are circular.

The Mullaivananātha temple is not dissimilar to a number of Early Coḷa shrines in the iconographic disposition of sculptures in the architectural scheme. In aesthetic quality the sculptures in the *devakoṣṭhas* and in some of the *parivāra* shrines are comparable to the best products of the Coḷa Age. The delicacy of their outline and the 'subtle rhythmic quality' provide them with unique charm. In some cases the modelling is pleasingly restrained and the features are strongly emphasized. Some images seem to indicate that as at Koḍumbāḷūr and Śrīnivāsanallūr the sculptor at Tirukkarugāvūr had a special taste for a greater plastic emphasis.

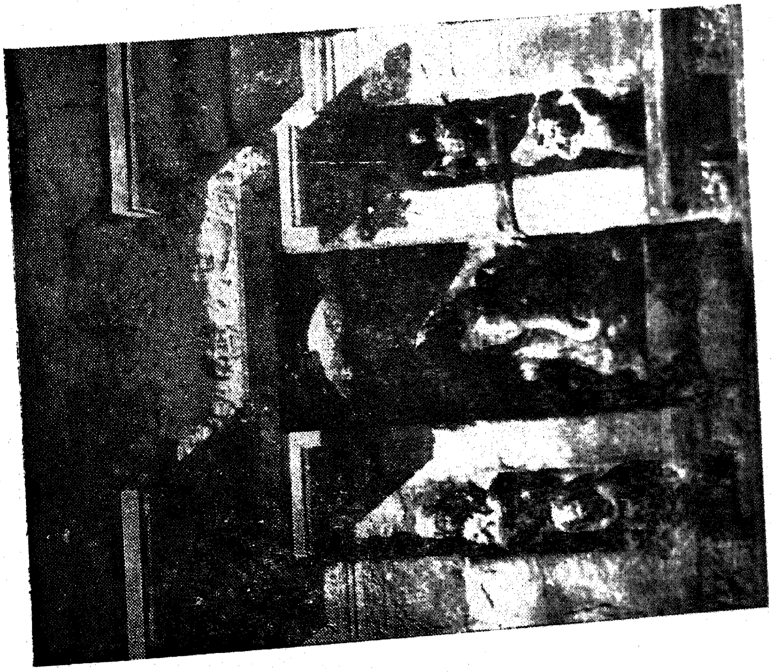
The images that are enshrined in the *devakoṣṭhas* are those of Gaṇeśa in the south wall of the *ardha-maṇṭapa*, Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the south wall of the main shrine and Ardhanārīśvara and Brahmā respectively in the west (rear) and north walls of the sanctum. Durgā is not seen in the north wall of the *ardha-maṇṭapa*.

Gaṇeśa is seated on a double lotus *āsana* in the conventional pose. He is two handed and at the right arm he carries the *modaka*. The trunk is elegantly curved to the left. The ears are large and the *makuṭa* is simple. Above the *makuṭa* is a *chatra*. The accessory figures flanking Gaṇeśa in this composition are of great interest. To the right of Gaṇeśa are two *gaṇas*, one above the other, the lower figure carrying a conch and the other being a personified *mūṣika*. *Mūṣika* is the *vāhana* of Gaṇeśa and it is normally represented only in its natural form and is not personified as a human figure. In this composition, however, the lower part of the

MULLAIVANANATHASVAMIN TEMPLE, TIRUKKARUGAVUR



III. Dakshinamurthi in Devakoshtha, S. Wall, Garbhagriha



II. Ganesa in Devakoshtha, S. Wall, Ardhamantapa

iv. Ardhanarisvara, in Devakoshtha, W. Wall, Garbhagriha

v. Brahma in Devakoshtha, N. Wall, Garbhagriha

ṇa is that of the *mūṣika* and the part above is that of the *gaṇa*. This recalls to mind the personification of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *āyudha-puruṣas* on the one hand and the depiction of Viṣṇu's *vāhana*, *Garuḍa* as a human figure with wings.

The image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the *devakoṣṭha* on the southern side of the shrine is a ramarkably fine carving. He is seated under a tree which is suggested by leaves and a stem. The *jaṭābhāra* of the image is elaborate and the strands in it are nicely worked. He is four armed, the upper pair carrying fire and rosary, the lower right being in *abhaya* and the lower left being placed over the thigh in the conventional form. The right leg of the figure rests on an *apasmāra* below. On the sides of the *apasmāra* are seen a snake and two deers. *Ṛṣis* constitute the accessory figures. In the pilaster strips in the *adhiṣṭhāna* below the image of Dakṣiṇāmūrti are two *gaṇas* standing in miniature in the style of *dvārapālas*. The image is classifiable as of the *Jñāna* type of Dakṣiṇāmūrti.

The presence of Ardhanārī in the *devakoṣṭha* of the rear wall is reminiscent of similar disposition in a few other Early Coḷa temples like those at Kaṇḍiyūr, Kumbakoṇam (Nāgeśvara), Mūvarkoil at Koḍumbaḷūr, etc. The image stands in *tribhaṅga* over a circular *bhadrāsana*, the right half representing the male and the left half representing the female aspects. The *makuṭa* is of the *jaṭā* and *karaṇḍa* variety respectively in the male and female parts. The face is rather round in contrast to the somewhat oval shaped face of the figure in the Nāgeśvara shrine at Kumbakoṇam. The left side has a *patrakuṇḍala* in the ear and the corresponding ear on the right side has a *makarakuṇḍala*. The image wears necklaces and a *svarṇavaikakṣa*, *keyūras* and *valayas*. There are two hands on the right side, the upper holding a *paraśu* in *kartarī hasta* and the lower placed on the bull standing at the back; the single arm on the left side holds a flower. The same arm in the sculptures at Koḍumbāḷūr and Kumbakoṇam holds a mirror instead. While the drapery on the male side is restrained, the same on the female side extends almost to the left foot. The folds of the hem of the garment flow down elegantly on the female side. *Siṃhamukha* is seen in the *kaṭisūtra*. Ardhanārī is flanked on the wall by a male figure on the right side and a female figure on the left side.

The image of Brahmā in ihe *devakoṣṭha* on the northern side stands on a double *āsana* which is similar to those of other images. Standing in the *samabhaṅga* pose he carries a rosary and a *kuṇḍikā* in his upper arms, the lower pair being in the usual *abhaya* and *kaṭyavalambita* poses. He is three-faced and the *makuṭa* is of the *jaṭā* variety. There is a simple necklace. The *yajñopavīta* is of the *vastra* type. The accessory figures are *ṛṣis* as usual. The lower garment is full and reaches

down to the feet. Relatively this sculpture seems to be in a lower level of workmanship.

Perhaps aesthetically the finest sculptures in the temple are those enshrined in the *parivāra* shrines. They are under worship and have not been photographed. They illustrate the unique vision discernible in some of the earliest sculptures of the early Coḷa Age. The images of Balāsubrahmaṇya, Caṇḍikeśvara and Gaṇeśa in the subsidiary shrines seem to belong to a school which in some respects is different from that to which the images in the *devakoṣṭhas* belong. If they were of same age they were doubtless products of different hands and belong to two different traditions.

Mention must also be made here of the miniature base reliefs depicted in the basement as in many other Early Coḷa temples. In many instances the base reliefs have not been fully carved and in a few places are left uncut. The themes depicted are common and include Kāḷīya-mardana, Vaṭapatraśāyi, Kaṇṇappanāyaṉār, Gajāri, Śiva and Viṣṇu, Kirātārjunīya scene, Naṭarāja and Kāḷi dancing, Gajendramokṣa, eight-armed Narasiṃha fighting with Hiraṇyakaśipu, Chaṇḍeśānugraha-mūrti, Niśumbhasūdanī, etc.

Date

The above description of the architecture and the sculptures of the temple of Mullaivananāthasvāmin at Tirukkarugāvūr, though brief, is sufficient to indicate that it belongs in its general style to the Early Coḷa Age. The earliest inscriptions in the temple are those of Parāntaka I and perhaps it is to his period that the temple in its present form has to be assigned. The presence of Ardhanārī in the rear niche is of course an earlier feature common to many of Āditya's temples. But to rely on this for dating the Mullaivananāthasvāmin temple would be risky as the style of the sculptures in the *devakoṣṭha* warrant a slightly later date. Further the installation of Ardhanāri in the rear niche was not abruptly despensed with after Āditya and the same practice was continued in the Tamil country in some temples of subsequent periods. As an example one may mention here the Jambukeśvara temple at Nārttāmalai built in A.D. 1205 where one finds the figure of Ardhanārī in the rear niche. *

Inscriptions in the Temple

The following inscriptions (chronologically arranged in two appendices), all in Tamil, have been copied from the Mullaivananātha-

*I am thankful to Mr. V. Arjunan, Executive Officer of the Mullaivananāthasvāmin temple, Tirukkarugāvūr for clarifying my doubts regarding the name of the presiding deity, etc., of the temple.

svāmin temple at Tirukkarugāvūr. They have been noticed in *Annual Reports on Indian Epigraphy*, for the years 1910 and 1961–2. While the Report for the year 1910 mentions the name of the God of the temple as Madhuvaneśvara, the Report for the year 1961–2 gives his name as Mullaivananātha. The texts of a few of the inscriptions of the Coḷa king Parāntaka I from the place have been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, volume III in which the temple is mentioned as that of Madhuvaneśvara.[5]

A few inscriptions from this temple which were noticed by Col. Colin Mackenzie (published in T.N. Subramaṇiam's *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, volume II, Nos. 644-655) are given separately under Appendix B. The inscriptions are stated to have been engraved on the walls of the central shrine in the Tillaivananāthasvāmin temple at Tirukkarugāvūr, Pāpanāśam taluk, Tañjāvūr district. In the manuscript collection of Mackenzie the God of the temple is said to be Tillaivananāthar and the goddess Karumbaṉaiya-Nāyaki.

APPENDIX — A

1

Ref.: *Annual Report on Epigraphy* (hereafter *ARE*), 1961–2, no. 399.

On the tiers of the south wall (proper right of Dakṣiṇāmūrti), of the central shrine.

Coḷa; *Maduraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I) regnal year (hereafter r.y.) 3 = *c*. A.D. 910.

Stops abruptly after mentioning Tirukkarugāvūr Mahādevar.

2

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 36; *South Indian Inscriptions* (hereafter *SII*), iii, no. 100.

On the south wall of the central shrine.

11 lines.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 14 = *c*. A.D. 921.

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5. There is also some confusion about the location of the village Tirukkarugāvūr (Tirukkaḷāvūr). For instance 35 of 1910 (*SII*, iii, no. 123) from the present temple at Tirukkarugāvūr, Pāpanāśam taluk, Tañjāvūr district is said to be from Tirukkarugāvūr, Sīrgāḷi taluk, Tañjāvūr district in *South Indian Inscriptions*, volume xix, no. 392.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 19 = c. A.D. 926.

Seems to record a gift for a perpetual lamp.

7

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 40.

On the south wall of the central shrine.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 23 = c. A.D. 930.

Provides for ghee by a native of Uḻundaṉkuḍi.

8

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 38; *SII*, iii, no. 102.

In the same place.

9 lines.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 24 = c. A.D. 931.

Records gift of land for a lamp to the Mahādeva temple at Tirukkarugāvūr by Nakkaṉ Candiradevi belonging to the shrine of Jayabhīmataḷi[6] at Tañjāvūr when the king Parakesarivarmaṉ was present. The land was situated in the village of Vaḍavūr–Veṇkāḍu.

9

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 42.

On the west wall of the central shrine.

Incomplete.

Coḷa; *Maduraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 27 = c. A.D. 934.

Gives a list of lands owned by the temples of Mahādeva, Kāla Piḍāri and Mahāviṣṇu at Pāla–Tirukkarugāvūr.

10

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 37; *SII*, iii, no. 110.

On the south wall of the same shrine.

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6. *Jayabhīmataḷi*, as the name of a temple in Tañjāvūr, occurs in one of the inscriptions of the Bṛhadīśvara temple (Tañjāvūr) which registers the gift of service women to that temple, by Rājarāja I (See *SII*, ii, no. 66).

21 lines.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ 'the conqueror of Madirai and Īḻan (Parāntaka I), r.y. 39 = c. A.D. 946.

Registers a gift of land by Nakkan Vikkiramābharaṇi, a mai servant of queen Villavaṉ Mahadeviyār (to the temple of Tirukkarugāvūr The lady made over the land to the *paraḍai* of Karugāvūr near Tiruk kuḍamūkku, which was a *devadāna* in Pāmbūr-nādu on the norther bank (of the Kāveri) and gave them five *kaḷañju* of gold to make the lan tax-free perpetually. The *paraḍai* vowed that if they failed in thei undertaking (of maintaining the charity) they should be liable to a fin of 100 *kaḷañju* of gold as a body and of 50 *kaḷañju* individually.

11

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 46; *SII*, xix, no. 130.

On the north wall of the same shrine.

32 lines.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ (Uttama Coḷa), r.y. 5 = c. A.D. 974–5.

Records an endowment of three *veli* of land (by the king) at th request of Śiṅgaṉ Kaliyaṉ *alias* Uttamacoḷa-Mūvendaveḷāṉ of Kommai pākkam with its annual produce of 710 *kalam* of paddy specifically allot ted for the various requirements of worship in the temple of Tirukkaru gāvūr Mahādevar. The apportionment was made through the officer Koyil-Mayilai *alias* Madhurāntaka-Mūvendaveḷāṉ of Siṟṟiṅgaṉ an Śāttaṉ Paśupati *alias* Kaliyaṉ Taṇḍeśvaraṉ. The land is said to hav adjoined a bigger plot of 40 *veli* endowed to the temple at Tiruvalañjuḻ from which it seems to have been separated as being in excess of th needs of that temple.

12

Ref.: *ARE*, 1910, no. 35; *SII*, iii, no. 123; Ibid, xix, no. 392.

On the south wall of the same shrine.

16 lines; damaged.[7]

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ (Uttama Coḷa), r.y. 16 = c. A.D. 985.

Registers sale of land by the *Mūlaparuḍai-perumakkaḷ* of Tirukka-rugāvūr to the Mahādevar temple at the village. The land which was known by the name of *sabhai-kūṭṭuvān* was exempted from tax burdens perpetually by the *mūlaparuḍai* who received 31 *kāśus* as price.[8]

7. *Pulli* is marked throughout the inscription to denote simple consonants.
8. A fragment of a record dated in the third year of Parakesarivarman is found above the present record.

13

Ref. : *ARE*, 1910, no. 45; *SII*, xix, no. 129.

On the north wall of the same shrine.

27 lines; much damaged.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 5: (10th century A.D. ?)

Seems to register the sale of some land belonging to four persons by virtue of their right of worship in the temple of Tirukkarugāvūr-Āḻvār for 24 days in the month, which they had purchased from certain individuals previously, and which they now disposed of, to the temple for 20 *Īḻakkāśu*.

14

Ref. : *ARE*, 1910, no. 41; *SII*, xix, no. 451.

On the south wall of the same shrine.

12 lines; built in at the right end.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. —— (10th century A.D. ?)

Records gift of 10 *mā* of land for offerings and for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādeva at Tirukkarugāvūr by one [Śe]ndaṉ Tāḷi after purchasing the same from three individual owners.

15

Ref. : *ARE*, 1961-2, no. 396;

On the tiers of the south wall (proper left of Dakṣiṇāmūrti) of the central shrine.

Fragmentary (two fragments)

——; ——, r.y.10:(10th century A.D.)

Probably records a grant of land. Mentions the *mahāsabhā* of some caturvedimaṅgalam.

16

Ref. : *ARE*, 1961-2, no. 393.

In the same place.

Coḷa; Rājarāja I, r.y. 16=c. A.D. 1001.

Commences with the historical introduction *Tirumagaḷ pola* etc., of the king of the inscription.

Records a grant of land for perpetual lamps to god Tirukkarugāvūr Mahādevar by the *mūlaparişad* of Karugāvūr, a *brahmadeya* in Āvin-kūrram probably for the money deposited for the purpose by Tāḷi .... ccan, a servant of *Tondrinādu-vagai-seyda-udaiyār.* The *mūlaparişad* seems to have met at the *mandapa* called *Nārpattennāyiravan.*

17

Ref. : *ARE,* 1961-2, no. 400.

In the same place.

Incomplete.

Coḷa; Rājendra I, r.y. 11 = c. A.D. 1023.

Commences with the historical introduction *Tirumannivaļara* etc., of the king.

Seems to record the gift of the *prabhā* and *pādapītha* for the image of Pāśupatadeva who is taken out for *śrībali* in the temple of god Mahādeva in the stone temple at Tirukkarugāvūr in Āvūr-kūrram in Nittavinoda-vaḷanāḍu by Neydalūr-udaiyān Nāraṇan Piḍāran, a servant *(tirumunnadikkum)* of the king.

Another piece in similar characters, records the names of several signatories and the *madhyassthan* named ... ravan Tiruvaraṅga Nārāyaṇan *alias* Mahājanakudiyan who wrote the *sabhāniyogam.*

18

Ref. : *ARE,* 1910, no. 44; *SII,* xix, no. 128.

On the north wall of the central shrine.

19 lines.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarman, r.y. 5: (11th century A.D.).[9]

Gives a list of the lands, three *veli* in all, which had been endowed to the temple of Mahādeva by several persons and which were now exempted from taxes by order of the king *(Udaiyār).* One of the donors was Korraṅgudaiyān Araṅgan Kuñjiramallan.[10]

19

Ref. : *ARE,* 1961-2, no. 398.

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9. The characters of the present record seem to be of the time of Rājendra I.

10. The beginning of the historical introduction *Tiṅgaļertaru* etc., of the inscription of Coḷa Rājādhirāja I is found below this inscription.

On fragments in the south wall (proper left of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti) of the central shrine.

Fragmentary.

[Coḷa]; ... : (11th century A.D.)

One of the pieces seems to record a sale of land by the *mahāsabhā* f the place. Yet another piece records the gift of gold weighing 17 *ḷalañju* and 11 *mañjāḍi* by Tattaṉ Viḍangaṉ Dēvaṉ.

20

Ref. : *ARE*, 1961–2, no. 394.

On the tiers of the same wall.

Coḷa; Vikrama Coḷa, r.y. 10 = *c*. A.D. 1128.

Records the gift of several utensils, ornaments and instruments 'or use in the temple of Mullaivaṉam-Uḍaiyār by ...... śoruḍaiccoḷa-Viḻupparaiyaṉ.

APPENDIX — B

21

Ref. : *South Indian Temple Inscriptions* (hereafter *SITI*), ii, no. 652, 626.

—

Coḷa; Rājakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 17.

Registers the grant of two *veli* of land to meet the expenses of the *Puṣya* festival of the god Mahādeva of Tirukkarugāvūr in Viṟai-kkūṟṟam.

22

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 653, 626.

—

Coḷa; Rājakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 18.

Registers the grant of land (measuring *iraṇḍu mākkāṇi araikkāṇi*) as *Tirumañjanattārkāṇi* to the god Mahādeva of Tirukkarugāvūr.

23

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 655, 628.

—

Coḷa; Rājakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 21.

Registers the gift of land (measuring *nālu mā araiye mundirigai*) to meet the expenses of two perpetual lamps in front of god Mahādeva (at Tirukkarugāvūr).

24

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 651, 625-6.

Damaged.

Coḷa; Rajakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 24.

Registers the gift of ¾ *veli* of *paḍugai* land to meet the expenses of three perpetual lamps to the God and Goddess in the temple at Tirukkarugāvūr.

25

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 644, 621-2.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 8.

Registers the grant of land (measuring *nālu mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi mundirigai*) measured by the rod *Vīrarājaṉ kālaḍik-kōl* to the temple of Tillai-Nāyaṉar.

26

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 650, 625.

Coḷa; Parakesarivarmaṉ, r.y. 13.

Registers the grant of land (measuring *nālu mā mukkāṇi araikkāṇi mundirigai*) in the village of Vīramaṅgaiyūr to meet the expenses of service and lamp to the god Mahādeva of Tirukkarugāvūr. The measuring rod *Vīramukkāṇi-kkol* is also mentioned.

27

Ref. : *SITI*, ii, no. 646, 623.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 8 = c. A.D. 915.

Registers the grant of 13 *veli* of land to meet the expenses of worship of the god Tillai-Nāyaṉār of Karugāvūr. The place is said to be situated in Viraik-kūṟṟam.

28

Ref.: *SITI*, ii, no. 645, 622–3.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 13 = *c.* A.D. 920.

Registers the grant of land (measuring *iraṇḍu mā kāṇi mundirigai*) for the supply of ghee to maintain two perpetual lamps in front of the god Tillai-Nāyaṉār.

29

Ref.: *SITI*, ii, no. 647, 623–4.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 17 = *c.* A.D. 924.

Registers the grant of 2½ *veli* of dry land to meet the expenses of the sacred bath *(abhiṣeka)* with *turmeric*, of the goddess Nāchchiyār and god Tillai-Nāyaṉār of Karugāvūr.

30

Ref.: *SITI*, ii, no. 654, 627.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 20 = *c.* A.D. 927.

Registers the gift of 13 *veli* of land measured by the rod *Vīramuk-kāṇikkol* by Tiruccittambala Uḍaiyār to meet the expenses of offerings and worship of the God.

31

Ref.: *SITI*, ii, no. 649, 624–5.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 21 = *c.* A.D. 928.

Registers the grant of 1½ *veli* of land by a private individual, Viḻiyā-ṉattevaṉ of Tirukkarugāvūr for maintaining ghee lamps in front of the god Mahādeva and goddess Nācciyār.

32

Ref.: *SITI*, ii, no. 648, 624.

Coḷa; *Madiraikoṇḍa* Parakesarivarmaṉ (Parāntaka I), r.y. 23= A.D. 930

Registers the grant of land to meet the expenses of the offerin and two lamps for the god Tiḷḷai-Nāyanār Mahādeva of Tirukkarugāvi in Vīḷaik-kūṟṟam.

S.C. GOYAL

SCIENCE IN VEDAS I *

[PROLOGUE : 'Science in Vedas' is a series of three lectures based upon the review of the research work conducted by various scholars. These Scholars have pointed out quite convincingly that many of the scientific facts supposed to be discovered by the modern science were already known to our ancient sages from their knowledge of Vedas.

I have gone through some of the available publications on this theme and found them highly interesting. I have a firm belief that there is a great scope for research on Vedas from scientific point of view. I am presenting my views to you through these lectures to impress upon the necessity of the study of Vedas by the scientists and research scholars in positive sciences–S.C. Goyal.]

Veda is a derivative from √*vid* which means knowledge as revealed by God, to the consciousness of the ancient sages. These sages could obtain this knowledge by placing them under the rigorous discipline of truth *(satya)*, eternal order *(ṛta)* and spiritual austerity *(tapas)*. Whatever was noblest, spotless and secretly contained in the first and foremost speech sent by Bṛhaspati was revealed to the sages by him with love.

These sages had described various scientific phenomena and theories and could be rightly named as Vedic scientists. Their approach to the scientific investigation was unique in the sense that they did not require elaborate scientific equipments and laboratories for this purpose. Prof. Beveridge has rightly pointed out in this connection "Elaborate apparatus plays an important part in the science of today, but I sometime wonder if we are not inclined to forget that the most important instrument in research must always be the mind of man."

* This is the first of a series of three Extention Lectures delivered by Prof. S.C. Goyal, Vice-Chancellor, University of Jodhpur in the S.V. University Senate Hall on the 13th and 14th of April 1977 under the auspices of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute. The other two Lectures will be published in the subsequent volumes - Editor.

The awakening of the purest intellect (*ṛtambharāprajñā)* was the greatest apparatus in scientific discoveries of these sages.

Dr. Seal has given the following account of these scientist-preceptors :

"These scientist-preceptors were not less advanced than Tycho-Brahe, Carden and Fermat; their Astronomy was equal to that of Vesalius; the Hindu logic and methodology more advanced than that of Ramus, and equal on the whole to Bacon's; the physico-chemical theories as to combustion, heat, chemical affinity, clearer, more rational and more original than those of von Helmont or Stahl."

Various concepts of Mechanics, Physics and Chemistry as well as the methodology of science have been explained in the *Nyāyā Sūtras* of Gautama and the *Vaiśeṣika Darśana* of Kaṇāda. It is worth noting that the Sāṃkhya system describes principle of cosmic evolution in terms of Modern Physics. Pre-atomic states of matter, principles of conservation, transformation and dissipation of energy have been remarkably explained in this system. According to the Sāṃkhya system there are five elements namely, air, water, earth, fire and ether, that compose matter and *Prakṛti* in an undifferentiated manifold, and indeterminate infinite continum of infinitesimal reals, characterised by the three *guṇas viz., sattva,* the essence, a state of equilibrium necessary for the reflection of intelligence; *rajas,* energy; *tamas,* mass or inertia –

"*Sattvaṃ laghu prakāśakam iṣṭam upaṣṭambhakam calaṁ ca rajaḥ*
guru varaṇakam eva tamaḥ etc." (Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṅkhyakārikā,* 13).

Energy has quantum (*parimāṇa*) and extension (*paricchinnatva*). The nature of energy is to do work and to overcome resistance (*rajaḥ calam upaṣṭaṃbhakam*) primarily, Therefore, all energy as referred to by the ancient system is kinetic. Sāṃkhya believes that before this world came into being there was such a state of dissolution – a state in which the *guṇa*-compounds had disintegrated into a state of disunion and had by their mutual opposition produced an equilibrium – the *Prakṛti.* Then later on disturbance arose in the *Prakṛti,* and as a result of that a process of unequal aggregation of the *guṇas* in varying proportions took place which brought forth the creation of the manifold. *Prakṛti,* the state of perfect homogeneity and incoherence of the *guṇas,* thus gradually evolved and became more and more determinate, differentiated, heterogeneous, and coherent. The *guṇas* are always uniting, separating and uniting again varying qualities of essence (*sattva*), energy (*rajas*) and mass (*tamas*) and act on one another and through their mutual interaction and interdependence evolve from the indefinite or qualitatively indeterminate, the definite or qualitatively determinate. And though co-operating to produce the world of effects, these diverse moments with diverse tendencies never coalesce. Thus in the phenomenal product whatever energy there is, it is due to the element of *rajas* and *rajas*

alone; all matter, resistance, stability is due to *tamas*, and the all conscious manifestation is due to *sattva*. The particular *guṇa* which happens to be predominant in any phenomenon becomes manifest in that phenomenon and others become latent, though their presence is inferred by their effect. Thus, for example, in a body at rest mass is patent, energy is latent and potentiality of conscious manifestation sublatent. In a moving body, the *rajas* is predominant (kinetic) and the mass is partially overcome. All these transformations of the groupings of the *guṇas* in different proportion pre-suppose the state of *Prakṛti* as the starting point. It is at this stage that the tendencies to conscious manifestation, as well as the powers of doing work, are exactly counter-balanced by the resistance of inertia or mass, and the process of cosmic - evolution is at rest. This evolutionary series beginning from the first disturbance of the *Prakṛti* to the final transformation as the world-order, is subject to, "a definite law which it can not overstep."

According to Dr. B.N. Seal, "the process of evolution consists in the development of the differentiated (*vaiṣamya*) within the undifferentiated (*sāmyāvasthā*), of the determinate (*viśeṣa*) within the indeterminate (*aviśeṣa*), of the coherent (*yutasiddha*) within the incoherent (*ayutasiddha*). The order of succession is neither from parts to whole nor from whole to the parts, but ever from a relatively less differentiated, less determinate, less coherent whole to a relatively more differentiated, more determinate, more coherent whole."

Kaṇāda, the propounder of the *Vaiśeṣika* system has given us the atomic theory and his exposition of the properties of matter is remarkable. P.C. Ray has commented, "his theory of the propagation of sound cannot fail to excite our wonder and admiration even at this distant date. No less remarkable is his statement that light and heat are only different forms of the same essential substance" - (P.C. Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol. 1, p. 2).

In the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* system there are four kinds of atoms i.e. earth, water, fire and air atoms, having mass, number, weight, fluidity (or hardness), viscosity (or its opposite), velocity, characteristics, potential colour, taste, smell, or touch, not produced by chemical operation of heat. *Ākāśa* is structureless and absolutely inert being only as a substratum of sound, which is supposed to travel wavelike in the manifesting medium of air. Atomic combination is only possible with the four elements. Atoms cannot exist in an uncombined condition in the creation stage. Atmospheric air however consists of atoms in an uncombined state - *kadācit tribhiḥ ārabhyate iti tryaṇukam ityucyate ; kadācit caturbhiḥ kadācit pañcabhiḥ iti yatheṣṭam kalpanā* (*Nyāyakandalī*, p. 32). Two atoms combined to form a binary molecule (*dvyaṇuka*).

Two, three, four or five *dvyaṇukas* form themselves into grosser molecules of *tryaṇuka, caturaṇuka* etc. Another view has been pointed out by B.N. Seal in his *Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*: "Atoms have also an inherent tendency to unite and that they do so in twos, threes or fours, either by the atoms falling into groups of threes, fours, etc., directly or by the successive addition of one atom to each preceding aggregate." The atoms are regarded as possessed of an incessant vibratory motion. The impact of heat corpuscles decomposes a *dvyaṇuka* into the atoms and transforms the character of the atoms determining them all in the same way. The heat particles continuing to impinge reunite the atoms so transformed to form binary or other molecules in different orders or arrangements, which account for the specific characters or qualities finally produced.

Sound is produced by vibrations or pulsations and wherever vibrations exist sound is produced. This sound may be audible or inaudible to the normal human beings depending upon the nature of vibrations and range of receptibility of sound by the human ear. There is an incessant vibration of the elementary particles in an atom, but the sound produced by these vibrations is not audible to the human ear. These vibrations of the elementary particles within the atom play a very important role in getting the various atoms combined to form the molecules of new substances. This scientific view was very well known to our ancient seers who regarded *śabda* as the root cause of creation. *Śabdeṣu eva āśritā śaktih viśvasya asya nibandhinī* and *vāgeva viśvā bhuvanāni jajñe, vāca it sarvam amṛtam yacca martyam* clearly show the importance of *śabda* in the creation of our universe. Vedic sages have pointed out that it is through this *śabda* that the *śabdātīta* can be known. There are four stages of *vāk* mentioned in the scriptures. They are *parā, vaikharī, madhyamā* and *paśyantī*. It is essential to ascend from *vaikharī*; and not only this one has to go even beyond *parā* to realise *śabdātītam param Brahma.* We can simply imagine an absolute ear which can hear *śabda* perfectly and unconditionally. The perception of sound by Yogins is very close to the perception by absolute ear. However in general we are unable to perceive the sound of *hrīm, klīm* etc., as it is. This gives rise to confusion and degeneration. Very often we come across persons pronouncing *kṛṣṇa* as *kṛsana* (pronouncing *ṣakāra* as *dantya sa*). This faulty pronunciation gives rise to discordant function instead of giving rise to harmonic function. Thus incompatible confusion of sounds is produced. In this context I may quote the famous classical example of *Indraśatruḥ varddhasva.* The harmonic function would have generated by pronunciation of *Indraśatruḥ* with the accent in the last syllable (*antodātta*) meaning *Indrasya śatruh* 'the killer of Indra'. (*Indrasya ghātakaḥ*) by *Tatpuruṣa.* But unfortunately for Vṛtra, the

pronunciation of *Indraśatruḥ* with the accent in the first syllable (*ādyudātta*) implying a *Bahuvrīhi* (meaning *Indraḥ śatruḥ ghātakaḥ yasya*) produced discordant function and Vṛtra, the demon was killed by Indra. Thus on account of wrong emphasis and pronunciation of *Indraśatruḥ* Vṛtra was himself destroyed, as the laboratory rhyme goes :

Once there was a Willy
And that Willy is now no more,
For what he thought was H_2O
Was H_2SO_4

Both Water (H_2O) and Sulphuric acid (H_2SO_4) are colourless liquids but Willy went no further than the colour and so he lost his life.

Vedic *guru-paramparā* has played an important role in preventing confusion and degeneration in the pronunciation of *śabda*. However even the *Mānasaputra* of Prajāpati could not perceive *śabda* pronounced by him as it was and his pronunciation was one step lower than that of Prajāpati himself. This has given rise to degeneration of *śabda* with the lapse of time. Today we are unable to even rectify the fault because we do not know what the correct pronunciation is. *Rājasika karṇa-mala* prevents the ear from perceiving the sound as it is. There are two types of *karṇa-mala*. First is Madhu and the second is Kaiṭabha. One represents *tamas* while the other *rajas*. Let me recall to you the mythological creation of Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Lord Viṣṇu was deeply absorbed in *yoganidrā* on his *Śeṣaśayyā*. Brahmā was sitting pretty on the lotus stemming from the naval of Lord Viṣṇu. Prajāpati Brahmā who was engaged in manifesting *śabda* suddenly found that due to *yoganidrā* of Viṣṇu, Madhu and Kaiṭabha, came into existance from the *karṇamala* of Lord Viṣṇu, and were not only obstructing the manifestation of *śabda* by him but also intending to kill him *Viṣṇukarṇa-malodbhūtau hantum Brahmāṇam udyatau*. Brahmā had to invoke Viṣṇu to save him. Viṣṇu gave up his *yoganidrā* and destroyed the two demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha who were born out of the *karṇamala* of Viṣṇu. This mythological story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha has a much deeper meaning to communicate to us. Manifestation of *śabda* is obstructed due to *karṇamala*. This *karṇamala* should be removed so that the capacity of hearing may improve. Our organ of hearing is unable to perceive the sound as it is. The sound heard by us is *sthūla*. We are unable to hear *śabdatanmātrā* because we do not have an absolute ear (*pāramārthika-karṇa*). We have to use precision instruments to hear the subtle sound. This shows that we have a limited capacity of hearing. The stream of evolution has been obstructed by some sort of *karṇamala* and perfection has not been obtained by us. If we want to attain the perfection of hearing capacity we must remove the *karṇamala*. This *karṇamala* or the fault in the faculty of hearing may be due to two reasons. The first is *āvaraṇa*

and the second is *vikṣepa*. The former is analogus to *tamas* while the latter to *rajas*. The sound is produced, others are hearing it but I am unable to do so as if there is an iron curtain covering the *śabda* and preventing it to reach me. I can hear only that sound which falls within the range of upper and lower limits of human audition. This type of *karṇamala* is called *tāmasik*.

Very often we find that the various sounds are being produced simultaneously from different sources, intermingling and causing confusion. This is all due to the interference of sound waves. Thus we are forced to receive the mixed and distorted sound. However, we are not capable of separating these sounds and hearing each of them in pure form. This type of fault of hearing or *karṇamala* is *rājasika*. This shows why it was essential even for Prajāpati Brahmā to get destroyed Madhu and Kaiṭabha *(Rajas* and *Tamas)* to have the absolute capacity of hearing and thereby manifesting the *vaidikaśabdarāśi*.

The *Ananta-Śeṣaśayyā* is an infinite system of stresses. Viṣṇu who is resting on this infinite system of stresses is the personification of the inscrutable power. *Nāda* or *praṇavoccāra* which is the fundamental cause of manifestation of sound is originating from the navel of Viṣṇu is the personified form of manifestation of the inscrutable power into the *Śabda Brahmā*. The *vāhana* of Brahmā, the *haṃsa* is vital functioning *(prāṇa-śakti-parispanda)* of *Śabda Brahmā*. The *akṣa-sūtra* in the hand of *Brahmā* represents units or elements of sounds. Thus all these mere symbolic representation of the manifestation of the inscrutable power into *Nāda* which in the form of Śabda-Brahman is responsible for the creation of universe. *Haṃsa* may also be described as the approximate acoustic equivalent of *Śabda Brahmā* as perceived by yogins.

We can understand very clearly by an example that *śabda* is a manifestation of energy. If we take a smooth plate of glass covered by dust and play violin near it, the sound produced by this musical instrument will arrange the gross particles of dust into a particular pattern. This shows that *śabda* has a creative power. The elementary particles like electrons are undergoing vibrations constantly. These vibrations produce sound energy which can transform itself into heat energy if impinging of one particle upon the other becomes violent. This can help us in imagining how the ancient Vedic sages used to produce *agni* by chanting *mantras* to burn the *samits*.

The water vapour needs centres of condensation for getting condensed into the drops of water. It is quite possible that the smoke from the *yajña agni* and the *śabdaspanda* produced by the *mantroccāraṇa* acting together could generate these centres of condensation to

cause rain. Probably this may offer a scientific explanation of producing rain by *mantras* and the *yajña*. The approximate acoustic equivalents of the underlying stresses or constituting forces of the fire and ether are *Raṁ* or *Haṁ*. We have these two equivalents because the *śruta-śabda* was not perceived in its absolute form. A great emphasis was laid by sages upon the correct pronunciation and correct perception to avoid confusion and degeneration of sound. When we pronounce *Hrīm*, *Śrīm* etc., a pulsation is produced in the *prāṇa-śakti* within us.

The scientific principles of acoustics may help us in arriving at the correct forms of vibrations to be produced for a particular purpose. However, it would be essential to ascend from *vaikharī* to *parā* and even beyond that to have realisation of *para-śabda* which is *hetubhūta*.

E.A.V. PRASAD

HYDROLOGICAL SCIENCES IN VARĀHAMIHIRA'S BṚHAT SAṂHITĀ

Very few workers in the scientific world are aware of how much science, as understood and accepted by scientists, is contained in the ancient Sanskrit literature. Several similarities and identities have been found to exist between ancestral teachings based on revelations, intutions, and empirical and experimental knowledge, and modern scientific concept and practices. Such, for example, is the exposition of the problem of ground water exploration in 125 *ślokas* (stanzas) which constitute the chapter entitled *Dakārgala* in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (Master Collection) the *magnum opus* of Varāhamihira (*C.* 507–87 A.D.).

Being convinced of the truth in the voluminous astrological science, and looking into the vastness of this science expounded by the first sage, *Brahmā*, and by thc successive sages, Varāhamihira had briefly written this manual (Chap: I, vv. 2 & 5). He stated (II, v. 4) that it might be possible for a man to cross the ocean by the force of the wind, but it would be impossible for him who is not a sage to reach mentally the other shore of the ocean of Kālapuruṣa, i.e., astrology. Thus he emphasized that only a sage would comprehend this science. Hence it is not surprising that the most modern scientific principles and practices were faithfully recorded and are reflected in this great ancient Indian work.

This monumental work has been published in *Bibliotheca Indica Series* by Dr. H. Kern who has also published an English translation in the *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (1870–74). English Translations have also been provided by Chidambara Iyer of Madura, and V.S. Sastry and M.R. Bhaṭ (1947) of Bangalore.

In this great work the problem of ground water exploration, was tackled in 125 slokas, with a multi-disciplinary approach involving

various disciplines of Earth Sciences and Life Sciences. It must be pointed out that nowhere in this work did Varāhamihira advocate water divining and all the suggested methods had empirical bases (Prasad 1976 a).

In this paper, an attempt is made to analyse scientifically the details embodied in this ancient work.

Ecology of Ground Water

Ecology is defined broadly as the science of the interrelation between living organisms and their environment including both the physical and biotic environments, and interspecies as well as intraspecies relations. Accordingly, in this ancient work, plants, termite mounds (termitaria), soils, and rocks were employed as hydrologic indicators applicable to watery, waterless, forest, and desert regions. Such an approach had led to the development of a modern science variously termed as "geobotanical indicator research" or "indicator geobotany" (Chikishev, 1965) involving geobotanical prospecting, or biogeochemical prospecting. Various plant species employed by Varāhamihira as hydrologic indicators are given in Tables 1 and 2.

Symbiotic Plants as Hydrologic Indicators

The symbiotic plants, referred to as hydrologic indicators in Varāhamihira's work, include "epiphytes" and "lianas" (vines or creepers). These two types of plants, according to Mc Dougall[1] represent "conjunctive symbiosis", i.e., dissimilar organisms living in contact with each other.

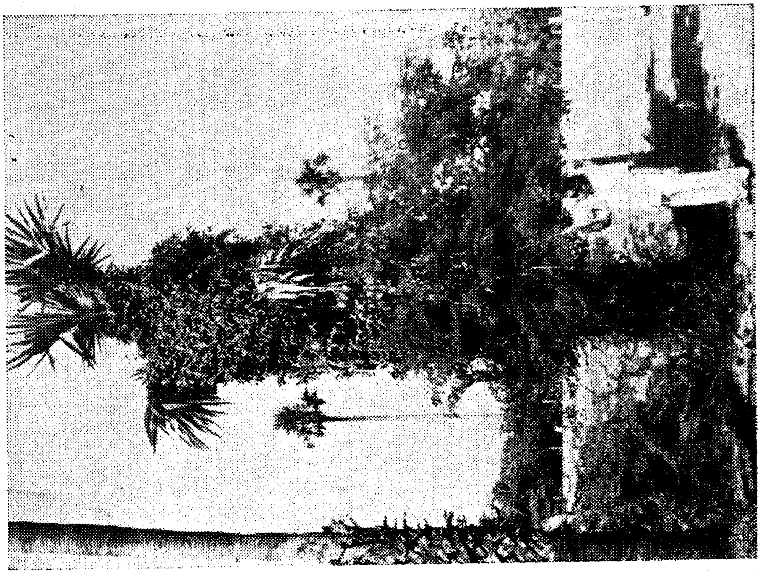
Epiphytes are plants[2] growing perched on other plants, which differ from parasites in not deriving water or food from the supporting plants and differ from lianas in not having soil connections. But in many cases a plant germinates and develops as an epiphyte but on continued growth it establishes soil connection. Such symbiotic plants (Fig. I) referred to as hydrologic indicators in Varāhamihira's work are given in Table : 3.

Vascular plants that are rooted in the ground and maintain their stem in a more or less erect position with the support of other plants or objects are called lianas or vines (Fig. 2). The development of plants of this ecologic type is dependent upon humidity and the warmth of the climate.[3]

1. Mc Dougall, 1918.
2. Oliver, 1930; Curtis, 1952.
3. Daubenmire, 1970, p. 304.

HYDROLOGICAL SCIENCE ...

B



A

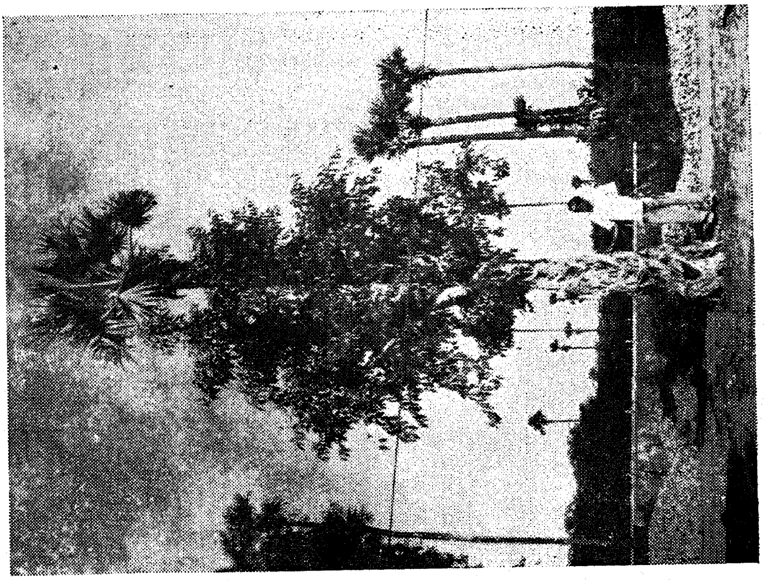


Fig. 1

Fig. 2

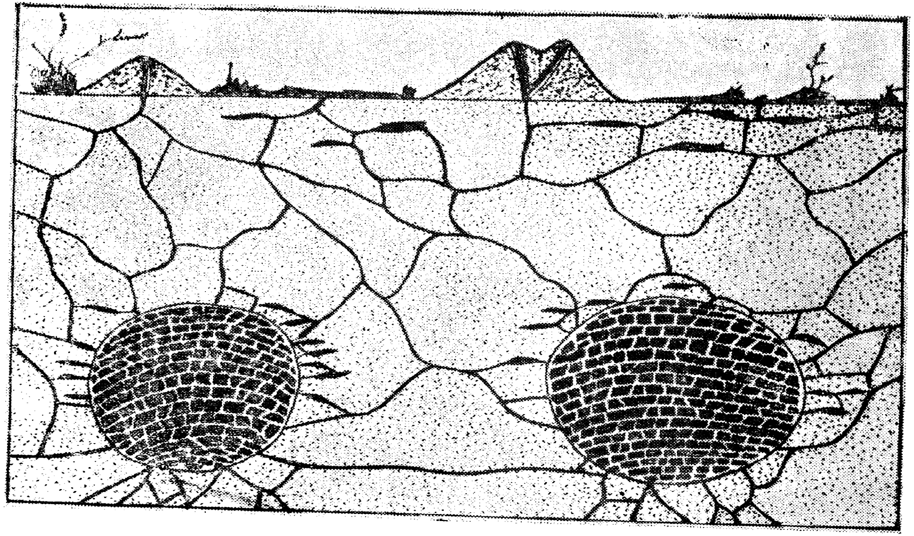


Fig. 3

In Varāhamihira's work, reference to the lianas as hydrologic indicators was made in verses 100–102. Further, in verses 87–88, the lianas together with the termite mounds, were mentioned as hydrologic indicators suggesting similarity of their environmental conditions high relative humidity.

Morphological Features of Vegetation as Hydrologic Indicators

Interpretation of the geologic phenomena by means of plants for ground water exploration is an important aspect of geobotanical prospecting which involves observation of the species, toxicity effects, and morphological changes in plants whose roots are in contact with the subsoil water. The morphological changes in plants reflect the physiological changes resulting from variations in the chemistry of the substrata including that of the ground water.

Various morphological features of vegetation specified in this ancient work as hydrologic indicators are given in Table 4. Brooks states that "morphological changes in plants under the influence of mineralisation are very varied and include such factors as dwarfism, gigantism, mottling or chlorosis of leaves, abnormally-shaped fruits, changes of colour in the flowers, distrubances in the rhythm of the flowering period, changes in growth form, and a large number of other indications."[4] It is evident that Brook's observations are related to those of Varāhamihira.

Termite Mound

Termites, popularly known as white ants, which exist through out the tropical and in most of the warm temperate countries, build conspicuous mounds varying from a few inches to as much as 30 feet in height.

Varāhamihira displayed great insight into ecological phenomena by employing the termite mound, commonly occuring in association with certain plant species, as hydrologic indicator to estimate the aquifers occurring at depths in the range of 12–525 feet (Table 2). It is astonishing that the scientific basis for this observation in the ancient Sanskrit work has come to light only in recent years.

The termites, in general, are very susceptible to desiccation[5] (Moore) and maintenance of a constant high humidity in the mounds[6]

4. Brooks, 1972, p. 38.
5. Moore, 1969.
6. Emerson, 1938, p. 428; Fyfe and Gay, 1938.

(Emerson, Fyfe and Gay) is an essential requirement for the very survival of the species especially of those that live in the arid and semi-arid regions. They possess the mechanism for active transport of water that contribute to humidity control of their mound. Bullion[7] has pointed out that free water in the soil and from the water table, even when it is very deep, is one of the sources of water used by the African termites. In arid and semi-arid regions, the termite mounds have vertical 'galleries' descending down (Fig. 3) to the water table from which water is transported to the nest to maintain suitable humidity. Some workers[8] (Hill, Ratcliffe and Greave, Ghilarov) have demonstrated the connection existing between the termite galleries descending down to the water table at a depth of 70 meters. The excavation carried out by the present writer in certain parts of Rayalaseema which is a semi-arid tract has revealed the occurrence of a similar connection existing beneath the termite mounds through the subterranean galleries with the stream-courses in their vicinity.

Aestivation

While dealing with subsurface geology, in relation to the aquifers, Varāhamihira recorded the occurrence of the animals: frog (verses 6-7, 8, 18, 29-30, 38-39, 63-64, and 67), turtle (verses 33-34, and 43-44), scorpion (verses 25-26(?), and 72-73), rat (verses 19-20), snake (verses 11-17, 27-28, 35-36. 41-42, 45-46, 65-66, 83, and 85), fish (verses 9-10, 14-15, 21-22), lizard (verses 12-13, 16, 69), and mongoose (verses 31-32, and 70-71), at different depths varying from 1.3 meters to 2.3 meters. Obviously the reference is to "aestivation"—a sleep-like, dormant condition commonly undergone by the 'cold-blooded' animals under the effect of unfavourable conditions such as high temperature, excessive dryness, and/or shortage of food —the situation commonly encountered in arid and semi-arid regions. A simple form of aestivation is closely associated with burrowing down to continually moist earth and there remaining dormant until rains come. Allee[9] etc. have pointed out that burrowing is common among tortoises, various monitor lizards, snakes, and rodents; all these animals were recorded by Varāhamihira, in thd geologic logs.

Earth Sciences

The Varāhamihira's work also includes various branches of Earth Sciences such as hydrogeology, geophysics, geotechniques, environmental engineering etc.

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7. Bullien, 1970.

8. Hill, 1921, Ratctiffe and Greave, 1940; Ghilarov, 1962.

9. Allee etc., 1949, p. 185.

Hydrogeology

The term 'hydrogeology' is defined[10] (Davis and De Wiest) as the study of ground water with special reference to its chemistry, mode of migration, and relation to geologic environment. The hydrogeological details, described in Varāhamihira's work, include the following aspects :–

a) The exact distance and direction of occurrence of aquifers with respect to the hydrologic indicator;

b) Occurrence of the aquifers at depths varying from 11 feet to as much as 525 feet;

c) Direction of flow of the water vein;

d) Quality and quantity of water in the aquifer;

e) Subsurface lithologic units associated with the aquifer.

Geophysical Exploration

Geophysical exploration is the application of the concepts and principles of Physics in geological exploration to discover the character of, and mineral resources (including ground water) in, subsurface geologic units in the upper portions of the earth's crust. The geophysical properties, employed by Varāhamihira for ground water exploration, are shown in Table 4.

Geotechniques

Four verses (112-115) deal with the methods of preparation of certain concoctions, involving different plant materials, to break hard rocks for tapping ground water which often occurs beneath them.

Metallurgy

Verses 116 and 117 deal with the methods of treatment to be given to the axe or chistle (*ṭaṅka*) in order to make them serviceable in breaking hard rocks. This is an aspect which may be classified as mechanical metallurgy or physical metallurgy as the suggested methods deal with the mechanical behaviour of the iron implements.

Environmental Engineering

Five verses (118-122) deal with environmental engineering or public health engineering which involves the aspects of all environmental conditions and situation, the control of which is based upon

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10. Davis and De Wiest, 1961, p. 1.

engineering principles and the application of scientific knowledge. Different aspects of this discipline dealt in the ancient work are given in Table 5.

Improvement of the quality of drinking water, particularly desalination, is a world wide problem.

Verse 121 states that a mixure of *añjana*, *musta* (Cyperusrus rotundus) bulbs, *uśira* (Vetiveria Zizaniodies), powder of *rājakośātaka* (Luffa cylindrica), and *āmalaka* (Emblica myrobalan) combined with *kataka* (strychnos potalorum) nuts has to be put into a well.

Verse 122 states that, by such treatment, the water which is turbid, pungent, saltish, of bad taste and not of good odour will be rendered tasty, good smelling, and endowed with other good qualities.

Varāhamihira: The Founder of Hydrological Science

Meinzer (1934), referring to the French Physicist, Edmie Mariotte (1620-1680), states that he "probably deserves more than any other man the distinction of being regarded as the founder of ground water hydrology, perhaps I should say of the entire science of hydrology".

Wisler and Brater (1959-p. 4) state: "Hydrology is a relatively new branch of the natural sciences. Although in ancient ruins unmistakable evidence has been unearthed that advanced knowledge in many of the sciences was held by man thousands of years ago, it appears that no such evidence of an early knowledge of the principles of hydrology has ever been found. In fact one need not go back many years to find a time when there was practically no literature on the subject. It is believed that greater advancement has been made in the development of this science during the present century than was made during all previous history".[11]

Certain other modern workers (Baker, and Horton 1936; Biswas, 1970) have dealt with the historical developments of hydroscience; but in these works also reference to Varāhamihira's contribution is conspicuous by its absence. Such wrong notions are prevalent amongst the Western scientists for the obvious reason that the Varāhamihira's work has not so far come to light. Beyond doubt, Varāhamihira deserves more than anybody else the distinction of being regarded as the founder of the entire science of hydrology.

11. Wisler and Brater, 1959, p. 4.

Importance of the Varāhamihira's work in modern context

Only 1% of the world's water is fit for human use; and out of this nearly 99% is available as ground water while the remaining quantity is available as fresh water in lakes, streams, and rivers.

More than 1000 million people in rural areas of the developing countries do not have an adequate supply of water. In some of these areas, women and children have to spend 50% of their time and energy every day to find enough water for their families.

In order to increase the availability of water, the techniques for location of new sources have, in recent years, become very sophisticated. But none of these techniques has been found feasible either due to the limitations of the techniques or staggering cost for the poorer developing countries.

One of the major goals that the United Nations had set for itself for the Development Decade 1970-80 is the provision of drinking water for the world's entire urban population and at least 25% of the rural population with an estimated expenditure of 6,500 million dollars. The decade is drawing to a close, but there is no sign that this objective is anywhere near fulfilment.

Ground water exploration, based on Varāhamihira's work, is ideally suited particularly for developing countries as it is most economical and as reliable as any other modern and sophisticated technique. If hydrologic indicator plants are identified and standardised for different physical and geographical regions, ground water exploration can be easily undertaken even by lay people. Most of the developing countries are in the tropical regions, and the termite mounds commonly occurring in such regions can also be employed, together with different plant species, as hydrologic indicators. Hence the programme of ground water exploration, based on Varāhamihira's work, should be undertaken at national and international level to meet the shortage of water supply.

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TABLE 1

Plants as Hydrologic Indicators

Sl. No.	Verses No.	Hydrologic Indicator Plant	Direction and Distance*	Depth	Water quality	Subsurface geologic units
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	6–7	Vetasa	West: 4′–6″	11′–3″	—	Below 3′–9″ yellow clay; hard rock, westerly flowing water vein.
2.	8	Jambū	North: 4′–6″	15′–0″	—	Below 7′–6″, soil with the smell of iron, pale white clay.
3.	11	Udumbara	West: 4′–6″	18′–9″	Good	Below 7′–6″, dark rock.
4.	21–22	Kampillaka	East: 4′–6″	24′–4″	Small amount of brackish water	Blue clay; lily-white clay, dove-coloured clay; then water–vein.
5.	23	Śoṇāka	North West: 3′–0″	22′–6″	—	—
6.	47	Vīraṇa and or Dūrvā	—	7′–6″	—	—
7.	48	Bhārṅgī, Trivṛtā, Nāgadantī, Sūkarapādī, Lakṣmaṇā and Navamālikā	South: 3′–0″	22′–6″	—	—

8.	57	Kaṇṭakārikā with white flowers and devoid of thorns	Beneath the tree	26′-3″	—	—
9.	58	Kharjūrī with two crowns	West	22′-6″	—	—
10.	59	Karṇikāra or Palāśa bearing white flowers	South : 3′-0″	15′-0″	—	—
11.	85	White Śamī with thorns	South : 1′-6″	562′-0″	—	—
12.	100–102	Sthala-Padma, Gokṣura, Uśīra, Kula, Guṇḍra, Kāśa, Kuśa, Nalikā, Nala, Vetasa, or trees, *gulma* and creepers with latex flow, Chatra, Hastikarṇa, Nāgakesara, Kadamba, Karaja, Sinduvāra, Vibhītaka, Madayantikā	Hydrologic indicators		—	—
13	105	Śāka, Aśvakarṇa, Arjuna, Bilvasarja, Ariṣṭā, Śrīparṇī, Dhava and Śiṃśapā.	Hydrologic indicator for far off aquifers.			

* The units of measure used by Varāhamihira to denote depth and distance are *Puruṣa* and *Hasta*. *Hasta*, i.e., cubit, is taken as equivalent to 18 inches and *Puruṣa* equivalent to 5 *Hastas* (cubits). However, Utpala Bhaṭṭa, the commentator on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* takes *Puruṣa* as equivalent to 120 inches.

TABLE 2

Hydrologic plant indicators and hydrogeologic details with reference to the termite mound in Varāhamihira's "Bṛhatsaṃhitā"

S.No.	Verses No.	Plant	Direction of occurrence of the Termite Mound	**Position of the aquifer: Direction and distance	**Position of the aquifer: Depth	Remarks on Ground water	Subsurface Lithology
1.	9–10	Jambū	East	S: 4′–6″	15′–0″	Plenty of sweet water for a long-time	Below 3′–9″ depth, dove-coloured rock; blue clay; water-vein.
2.	12–13	Arjuna	West	W: 4′–6″	26′–3″	Abundant	Grey clay at a depth of 11′–3″, dark then yellow, then white, and sandy soil; beneath water-vein.
3.	14–15	Nirguṇḍī	South	S: 4′–6″	16′–10″	Sweet and perennial water	Below 3′–9″, reddish brown clay; pale white clay; sandy gravel; water-vein.
4.	16	Badarī	East	W: 4′–6″	22′–6″	—	—
5.	19–20	Kākodumbara	—	—	24′–4″	—	Pale yellow clay; white rock; westerly flowing water-vein.
6.	24	Vibhītaka	South	E: 3′–0″	11′–3″	—	—

7.	25-26	**Vibhītaka**	**West**	N: 1′-6″	33′-9″	Exhausts after three years	Below 7′-6″, crimson rock; westerly flowing water-vein.
8.	27-28	**Kovidāra**	**North-east**	Between the tree and the termite mound	33′-9″	—	Red soil below 7,-6″; Coryndon rock.
9.	29-30	**Saptaparṇa surrounded by the termite mound**		N: 1′-6″	37′-6″	Good quality	Below a depth of 3′-9″; yellow soil; dark rock; northerly flowing water-vein.
10.	33-34	**Karañja**	**South**	S: 3′-0″	26′-3″	Sweet water in the middle vein	An easterly flowing water vein; then a northerly flowing water-vein; green rock; then again a water-vein below.
11.	35-36	**Madhūka**	**North**	W: 7′-6″	56′-3″	Foamy water	Tawny clay below a depth of 7′-6″; horsegram coloured rock; easterly flowing water-vein.
12.	37	**Tilaka or termite mound covered with Kuśa**	**North**	W: 7′-6″	37′-6″	—	Easterly flowing water-vein.

1	2	3	4	5 A	5 B	6	7
13.	38–39	Kadamba	West	S: 4′–6″	53′–2″	Inexhaustable water with the smell of iron	Yellow clay below a depth of 7′–6″; northerly flowing water-vein.
14.	40	Tāla	West	W: 9′ 0″	30′–0″	—	Southerly flowing water-vein.
15.	41–42	Kapittha	South	N: 10′–6″	37′–6″	—	Black clay below a depth of 7′–6″., hard rock., white clay; westerly-flowing water vein. and northerly-flowing water-vein.
16.	43-44	Aśmantaka	Badarī or termite on the left	N: 9′–0″	25′–.″	—	Brown rock below a depth of 7′–6″; clay with sand; southerly flowing vein, and then northerly flowing one.
17.	45–46	Haridra	North	E: 4′–6″	43′–1″	—	Yellow clay; emerald-like rock; black soil; westerly flowing water-vein; next a southerly flowing one.
18.	63–64	Pīlu	North-East	—	33′-9″	—	—

19.	65–66	Pīlu	East	S: 6′-9″	62′-6″	Plenty of blackish water	—
20.	67	Tender Karīra	North	S	75′-0″	Sweet water	—
21.	68	Rohitaka	West	W: 4′-6″	90′-0″	Brakcish water	—
22.	69	Indra	East	W: 1′-6″	105′-0″	—	—
23.	70–71	Suvarṇa	North	S: 3′-0″	112′-6″	Brackish water	Copper-coloured rock below a depth of 3′-9″; red soil; southerly flowing water-vein.

TABLE 3

Symbiotic Plants as Hydrologic Indicators

Sl. No.	Verses No.	Symbiotic Plants	Position of the aquifer			Remarks on Water
			Direction	Distance	Depth	
1.	17	Palāśa and Badarī	West	4′-6″	24′-5″	—
2.	18	Bilva and Udumbara	South	4′-6″	22′-6″	—
3.	72-73	Badarī and Rohita	West	4′-6″	120′-0″	A southerly flowing water vein and beneath and northerly flowing one; tasty water.
4.	74	Karīra and Badarī	West	4′-6″	135′-0″	North-easterly flowing vein with abundant water.
5.	75	Pīlu and Badarī	East	4′-6″	150′-0″	Inexhaustible brakish water.
6.	76	(a) Kakubha and Karīra or				
		(b) Kakubha and Bilva	West	3′-0″	188′-0″	—
7.	83	Palāśa and Śamī	West	7′-6″	450′-0″	—
8.	96	(a) Nyagrodha Palāśa and Udumbara., or				
		(b) Nyagrodha and Pippala	North	4′-6″	—	—

TABLE 4

Morphologic Features of Vegetation as Hydrologic Indicator

Sl. No.	Verse No.	Morphological Features of Vegetation	Position of the Aquifer		
			Direction	Distance	Depth
1.	49	Short glossy trees with elongated branches hanging down	—	—	—
2.	49	Hollow and rough trees with shattered leaves	Negative Indicator	—	No aquifer
3.	52	Grassy patch of ground on grassless ground or vice versa	—	—	—
4.	53	Throny trees in the midst of thornless trees	West	4′–6″	28′
5.	55	Tree with a branch hanging low or is colourless	Below the branch	—	22′–6″
6.	56	Tree with unusual fruits and flowers	East	4′–6″	30′
7.	57	Thornless Kaṇṭakāri with white flowers	Below the tree	—	26′–3″
8.	58	Date tree with two crowns	West	—	22′–6″
9.	59	Karṇikāra or Palāśā bearing white flowers	South	3′	15′
10.	61	Perishing of grown crops	—	—	15′
11,	61	Glossy and extremely white vegetation	—	—	15′
12.	85	White thorny Śamī	South	1′–6″	562′

1	2	3		4	5
13.	92	Glossy trees	South	—	30′
14.	92	Tree, in the midst of thick vegetation, with unusual features	South	—	30′
15	101	Trees with latex flow	—	—	22′–6″
16.	105	Coarse shurbs and creepers with leaves full of holes	Aquifer far away	—	—
17.	106	Karīra with red laticiferous sprouts	—	—	—

TABLE 4A

The Geophysical Properties Employed by Varāhamihira in Ground Water Exploration

S.No.	Verse Number	Observed feature	Geophysical Property	Depth of aquifer
1.	54	Earth emitting sound when stamped	Accoustical	26′–3″
2.	91	Soft, low-lying, and sandy earth emitting sound	-do-	33′–9″
3.	93	The earthy ground going down, when trodded, in a forest or watery tract	Rigidity	11′–3″
4.	94	Isolated cold spot on a warm ground or warm spot on a cold ground	Thermal	26′–3″

TABLE 5

Different Aspects of Environmental Engineering

Sl.No.	Verse No.	Particulars
1.	118	Construction of storage reservoir.
2.	119	The plant species to be developed on the embankment of the storage reservoir.
3:	120	Outlet from the storage reservoir for water supply to the consumers.
4.	121 & 122	Water treatment method for improving the quality of potable water.

TABLE 6

List of Sanskrit names of the Trees and their Botanical equivalents

Sl. No.	Sanskrit Name		Botanical Name
1.	Ariṣṭa	:	Xanthium strumarium
2.	Arjuna	:	Lagerstroemia speciosa: Terminalia Arjuna
3.	Aśmantaka	:	Bauhinia Racemosa: Bauhinia variegata
4.	Aśvakarṇa	:	Vatica robusta: Dipterocarpus alatus
5.	Badarī	:	Zyzphus jujuba
6.	Bhārṅgī	:	Clerodendrum indicum: C. Serratum
7.	Bilva	:	Aegle marmelos
8.	Bilva, sarja	:	Aegle marmelos
9.	Chatra	:	Foeniculum capillaceum
10.	Darbha	:	Desmostachya bipinnata: Poe cynosuroides
11.	Dhava	:	Anogeissus latifolla: Grislea tomentosa
12.	Dūrvā	:	Desmostachya bipihnata: Panicam dactylon; Cyndon dactylon
13.	Gokṣura	:	Tribulus terrestris; T. Lonuginosus

1	2		3
14.	Guṇḍra	:	Typha elephantina
15.	Haridra	:	Curcuma longa
16.	Hastikarṇa	:	Alocasia macrorhiza
17.	Indra	:	Holarrhena antidysenterica
18.	Jambū	:	Eugenia jambos
19.	Kadamba	:	Anthocephalus indicus
20.	Kākodumbara	:	Ficus oppositepolia
21.	Kakubha	:	Terminalia arjuna
22.	Kaṇṭakāri	:	Solanum xanthocarpum
23.	Kampillaka	:	Rottleria tinctoria; Mallotus phillippinensis
24.	Kapittha	:	Feronia limonia
25.	Karaja	:	Pongamia glabra
26.	Karañja	:	Pongamia pinnata
27.	Karīra	:	Capparis decidua; C. Aphylla
28.	Karṇikāra	:	Pterospermum acerifolium
29.	Kharjūra	:	Phoenix dactylifera
30.	Kovidāra	:	Bauhinia variegata
31.	Kula	:	Chlorophytum tuberosum
32.	Kuśa	:	Desmotrichum bipinnata; Poe cynosuroides
33.	Lakṣmaṇa	:	Mandragora officinarum
34.	Madhūka	:	Madhuca indica: Cynomitra Ramiflora bassia latifolia
35.	Madayantikā	:	Lawsonia innermis: L. Alba
36.	Nāgadantī	:	(a) Tiaridium indicum (b) Heliotrofium indicum (c) Boliospermum montanerm
37.	Nāgakesara	:	Mesua ferrea
38.	Nala	:	Lobelia nicotianaefolia: Phragmits karka
39.	Nalikā	:	Nelumbo nucifera; Onosma echioides
40.	Navamālikā	:	Jasminum aroborescens: J. Sambac
41.	Nirguṇḍī	:	Vitex negundo
42.	Nyagrodha	:	Ficus benghalensis
43.	Padma	:	Euryale ferox

1	2		3
44.	Palāśa	:	Butea monosperma; B. Frondosa
45.	Pīlu	:	Salvadora oleoides; Careya arborea; S. Persica
46.	Pippala	:	Ficus religiosa
47.	Rohita	:	Andersonia rohitaka
48.	Rohitaka	:	Aphanamixis polystachya
49.	Śāka	:	Tectona grundis
50.	Śamī	:	Prosopis specigera; Acacia suma
51.	Saptaparṇa	:	Alstonia scholaris
52.	Śiṃśapā	:	(a) Dalberwa latifolia (b) Dalbergia sissoo (c) Jonesia asoka roxb (Tree belonging to the leguminous class)
53.	Sinduvāra	:	Vitex negundu
54.	Śoṇaka	:	Ohoxylum indicum
55.	Śrīparṇī	:	Gmelina asiatica Gemlina arborea Premna spinola or Longifolia; Pistia stratoiotes: Salmalia Malabarica and a species of Solandum.
56.	Sūkarapādī (Sūkarapādikā)	:	Canavalia virosa
57.	Suvarṇa	:	Argemona mexicana mesua ferrea
58.	Tilaka	:	Clerodendrum phlomoides (Symplocos Racemosa, L)
59.	Trivṛta	:	Cissampelos partira; Ipomoea turpethum
60.	Udumdara	:	Ficus racemosa; F. Glomerata
61.	Uśīra	:	Vetiveeria zizanioides; Andropogon muricotus
62.	Vibhītaka	:	Terminalia belerica
63.	Vetasa	:	Calamus rotang
64.	Vīraṇa	:	Andropogon muricatus

REVIEWS

UPANIṢADON ME KĀVYATATTVA: By Krishnakumar Dhavan Published under Woolner Indological Series - 21 by Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Sadhu Ashram, Hoshiarpur (Pb), India, 1976. Pp. xiii 351. Price Rs. 50/-.

The theory of poetry, imagery, similies and other figures of speech in the Vedas, have been subjected to a searching scrutiny by Vedists like C.K. Raja, Venkatasubbaiah, Shende, Mainkar, and P.S. Sastri. Utilising the research work done by these scholars, Dr. Krishnakumar Dhavan, in the book under review which is his Ph.D. thesis submitted to Panjab University (Chandigarh), has attempted to trace the origin of Indian Aesthetics to the Vedas and Upaniṣads. According to the author, poetry in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads contains such elements as *Alaṃkāra, Guṇa, rīti, pāka, dhvani, rasa* and *aucitya.* He has of course, relied heavily on the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* for analysing the above mentioned poetic elements. His conclusion is that the Veda is the source of poetry (*Vedo'khilaḥ kāvyamūlam*), which he has tried to establish by drawing copious citations from the Sacred texts. Furthermore, following Vāmana and Viśvanātha, he has examined the three types of prose-composition (*vṛtta-gandhi, cūrṇam, utkalikā-prāyam*) in the Upaniṣads.

I consider the attempt made by the author as successful in analysing the principles of poetry enshrined in the Upaniṣadic texts. Yet one or two points mentioned by the author deserve reconsideration :

(i) While examining the definitions of the three styles (*rītis*), *Vaidarbhī, Gauḍiyā* and *pāñcālī*, the author (p. 31) says that the *Vaidarbhī* stems from the *prasāda-guṇa,* Gauḍīyā from *ojas* and *Pāñcālī* by a mixture of both the *guṇas.* This goes against the definitions given by Vāmana in the *Kāvyālaṃkārasūtrās* (1-2-11 to 13) for the three styles.

(ii) The author considers *pluta-svara* as one of the suggestive elements (*vyañjakas*) in page 246, although the well-known literary critics have not attached any importance to its suggestive capacity.

These remarks do not detract from the value of the thesis which is written in simple and lucid Hindi. The three appendices, bibliography and subject-index given by the author are useful to the research scholars.

U. SHANKARA BHATTA

EVOLUTION OF THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA CATEGORIOLOGY, Vol. I - 'Early Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Categoriology' (pages 1-256) by Harsh Narain, M.A., Ph.D., Department of Philosophy, Banaras Hindu University, published by Bharati Prakashan, Varanasi, 1976. Price Rs. 55-00.

There are not many serious books in India giving a generic history of different schools of Indian Philosophical Thought. The present book of Dr. Harsh Narain forming the first part of his doctoral dissertation has succeeded to a considerable measure, to meet this demand as far as the study of the categories of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika systems is concerned.

The work falls into three parts. The first part, 'Introduction' containing Chapters I and II, explains the general feature of the enquiry made in the work. The meaning of the word "Categoriology" is given as "the theory or critique of categories".

The second part entitled "The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Concept of Category" contains Chapters III and IV of which the former studies the concept of category in the Nyāya tradition founded by Gautama. Here we are told that "the Indian philosopher seldom feels called upon to define and delimit his concept of category with the seriousness, the task so richly deserves" (p. 33). The conclusion is: that the sixteen-fold or even the twelve-fold scheme of categories of the system does not purport to be a list of categories drawn up as a result of analysis of being............ The intention of Gautama seems to be simply to list the topics - without the least idea of categorization - the knowledge of which he took to be essential for the attainment of the summum bonum" (pp. 56-57). The next chapter studies the concept of category in the Vaiśeṣika system of Kaṇāda. Here, a bird's eye view of the western concept of category is given in chronological order starting from Aristotle (384-322 B.C.), down to Paul Weiss (born 1901). This is by way of helping the reader in appreciating the comparison and contrast of the Indian concept of 'padārtha' and the Western concept of 'category'. The author is strongly of the view that Vaiśeṣikasūtra (VS) which enumerates all the six *padārthas* (VS. I, i, 4 of the Kashi Sanskrit Series Ed. etc.), is "a post-Praśastapāda corruption" and he further believes that the VS originally recognised only three categories - substance (*dravya*), attribute (*guṇa*) and motion (*karman*) - to which it gives the common name *artha*; and hence *artha* is the Kaṇādian equivalent for "category" (p. 86). The rest of the ehapter deals with the Praśastapāda and post-Praśastapāda concepts of category. The concept of *padārthas* of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika school includes all existents as a whole and not individually, in striking contrast to the concept of category found in Plato and other subsequent writers of the west, according to whom categories signify the universal properties belonging to each existent (p. 100).

Part III, titled as "Beginning of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Categoriology" consists of the rest of the work i.e., Chapters V to X. Here, in Chapter V, the theories of Greek influence and of the influence of the Jainism on the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika concept of *padārthas* are set aside. It is believed that the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā-sūtras* of the pre-Christian era and the *Caraka-saṃhita* of the first or second century A.D. might have borrowed from the VS. The conclusion is that "the scheme of categories propounded in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (2nd century B.C.) being older than the one found in the VS, in its final form, the former has had much to do with the latter's origin, even though there is no direct evidence to go upon" (p. 118). Chapter VI enumerates cogently evidences, both internal and external, to establish the alleged spuriousness of the *uddeśasūtra* of the VS (I, i, 4) earlier referred to. The origin of the Vaiśeṣika concept of categories is examined and then it is concluded that the treatment of the three categories in the *Mahābhāṣya* is on the whole more primitive than the one found in the extant text of the VS; and that as we are not in a position to fix up the antiquity of the original core of the VS, we cannot say whether it was the VS that borrowed from the *Mahābhāṣya* or the other way round (p. 155).

Chapter VII tries to explain the *sūtras* of the VS (I, ii) in such a fashion - of course, suggesting certain important corrections to the text - as to make us understand that *sattā* (existence) itself is called *dravyatva* (substance-hood), *guṇatva* (attributeness) and *karmatva* (motionness), after its respective loci. In this context, our attention is drawn to similar independent statement of Bhartṛhari in the *Jātisumuddeśa* of the *Vākyapadīya*. (p. 161). Of course, this view, like many other views of the author, goes against the stand taken by the traditional school of Praśastapāda and his commentators. The same chapter further tries to establish that the word *bhāva* originally denoting "action" in the age of the ancient Nairuktakas and Vaiyākaraṇas, soon acquired the sense of "existence" (*sattā*) as a category, more abstract and fundamental than action, and that the Vaiśeṣika concept of *bhāva* or *sattā* (existence) probably was inspired by the latter sense developed in the etymological and grammatical traditions. To, this, of course, a few sentences of remarks are appended by way of cautioning the reading against hasty conclusions. Chapter VIII traces the concept of Universal as a category from the western point of view and discusses the different meanings in which the words *sāmānya*, *jāti* and *ākṛti* are employed in the traditions of the early Vaiśeṣikas, Naiyāyikas, Vaiyākaraṇas, Mīmāṃsakas and Bauddhas; and it concludes that the concept of the category universal is a development of the concept of species, genus, and form (p. 204).

The penultimate chapter discusses the evolution of the concepts of *viśeṣa* (differential) and *samavāya* (inherence). It is held that the expression *antyaviśeṣa* in the VS (I. ii, 6) does not at all signify the

category differential (p. 213) as believed by the traditionalists and that the non-ontological character of Patañjali's *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa*, postulated in the VS is bound to suggest a non-ontological view of the same used by Kaṇāda (p. 210). In this connection, we are reminded of the fact that the Chinese author Khwei-Ci, a disciple of Yuan Chwang (648 A.D.), in his list of the Vaiśeṣika categories altogether omits differential, though he does include inhrence, a fact, which, according to Dr. Harsh Narain, suggests that by the time of the said Chinese author, the category differential had not acquired that popularity which it enjoyed in later times (p. 213). Regarding *samavāya*, we are told, that it must be a very young category as indicated by the fact that it has not been treated in the opening chapter of the VS along with other categories beyond a bare mention of it in the "spurious" *sūtra* (I, i, 4). However, we are properly advised not to forget the existence of one *sūtra* (VS, VII, ii, 29) treating *samavāya* independently by defining it as a causal nexus, and the occurrence of 'the word *samavāya* in the work throughout signifying inherence' (p. 216).

The last chapter tells us how the table of the six categories of the Vaiśeṣikas was finalised. It is pointed out that while the *Āvaśyaka-sūtra*, Caraka, Āryadeva and Praśastapāda mention all the six categories now found in the VS, the list of the Vaiśeṣika categories given by Khwei-Ci omits differential while Candra's list mention existence and universal-particular separately and add their own other items. This discrepancy is perhaps, it is explained, due to absence of specification in the VS as to the exact number of categories by its author (The VS I, i, 4 of Kashi Sanskrit Series Ed. etc., is taken to be spurious). Consequently the later writers were free to construe the list in any way they liked (p. 220). Besides, in this Chapter we find a brief accout of the unorthodox interpretation of the table of the Vaiśeṣika *padārthas* given by some three recent writers viz. Candrakanta Tarkalankara, Madhusūdana Vidyavacaspati and Kailasacandra Śiromaṇi. The last section of the chapter deals briefly with th cognition of the categories by means of different *sannikarṣas* as stated in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika works.

The treatment of different topics throughout the work under review is quite serious, admirably cogent and vigorously logical. It bears a good evidence to the author's deep, thorough and upto date knowledge of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature, both ancient and modern, to his clarity of thought and to his critical acumen. We heartily congratulate him for this successful performance.

But it is evident that the learned author has raised several serious issues in his work and all of them cannot and need not be discussed in a review with space restricted. Yet a few items may be cited by way of example. Vācaspati Miśra's interrogative sentence "*atha niḥśreyas-opayog-ābhāvaḥ kuto='vagantavyaḥ?*" in the *Nyāyavārttika-Tātparyaṭīkā*

-- one doubts whether the text of this sentence has been correctly edited -- is to be understood, as the context shows clearly, only in the sense of *atha niḥśreyas-opayogī abhāvaḥ kuto='vagantavyaḥ?*", meaning "wherefrom can one know the non-being useful for attaining *niḥśreyasa?*". Now one may be able to appreciate the logic of the *Ṭīkākāra* rather than to find fault with his alleged lack of clarity (cf. p. 43). Again none of the early Naiyāyika authors of repute seems to desereve the chastisement for "the task of creating a cosmos out of chaos" as they do not really seem to read the *Vaiśeṣika-padārthas* in the list of *sadvidhas* of the *Nyāya-sūtra* (cf. p. 57).

Coming to the learned author's observation on the Vaiśeṣika system one finds it a bit difficult to believe that the *sūtra* in which the six categories are enumerated, referred to above is totally spurious, especially when one is aware that these *padārthas* find mention atleast once or more times in the subsequent *sūtras* of the work and that they are mentioned by Caraka too. Even the argument that the *sūtra* in question is awkwardly worded and the citation of commentaries of Śrīdhara and Udayana on Praśastapāda (cf. pp. 121-22) may possibly go only to prove that the expression *dharmaviśeṣa-prasūtāt*, now we find in the *sūtra*, is certainly a subsequent addition. Again a student of the *sūtra* literature of ancient India would normally expect, as Faddogaon does (cf.p. 120) a general *uddeśa-sūtra* in one form or other, before the particular lists of the *dravyas*, *guṇas* and *karmans* in the VS. In fact Khwei-Ci gives, in his work, one such list of *Vaiśeṣika-padārthas*. Hence the absence of such a necessary *sūtra* in the Baroda and Mithila MSS. seems to furnish only a matter for investigation rather than a strong evidence in favour of repeatedly condemning the *sūtra*, available in other MSS, as a spurious and hence useless one.

Besides, the chief aim of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* is *śabdānuśāsana* and all other discussions including those on the *dravya*, *guṇa* etc., are only of secondary importance there. Hence the work can afford to be vague on those points. On the other hand, the VS having the *arthānuśāsana* alone as its sole aim can ill afford to be so. Hence one feels it quite unsafe to attach much weight to their respective vagueness and clarity and to arrive at some weighty conclusions on that basis alone. This is especially so in view of the facts that there are scholars who assign the *Mahābhāṣya* to C. 100 A.D. (IHQ, XV, 633-38); and that if one is to believe Bhartṛhari (*Vākyapadīya*, II, verses 484-89) one cannot be quite certain whether the *Mahābhāṣya* itself, in its present form, represents exactly what Patañjali composed.

But all these observations are based only on difference of opinion and in no way underrate the book under review. We are sure that the

world of scholars will certainly welcome it with great interest. And we eagarly look forward the publication of the second volume of Dr. Harsh Narain's thesis.

—S. SANKARANARAYANAN

SANSKRIT -- ESSENTIALS OF GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE, by Kurt F. Leidecker, second edition. Published by the Adyar Library and Research Centre as No. 5 of the 'Adyar Library General Series'. Madras 1976. Pp. xviii+133.

To present the Sanskrit language to the students of Comparative Philology, several attempts have been made by many Western scholars, right from H.T. Colebrooke (1805), followed by H.H. Wilson (1847), T. Benfy (1863), Max Muller and others. They prepared handbooks dealing with general structure of language and elements of grammar. These are modelled on the manuals used for teaching the Greek and Latin grammars in the Western schools. But no book has been upto the mark to completely satisfy the requirements of a beginner, because of the vastness of vocabulary on hand and abundance in the variety of expressions in Sanskrit.

The work under review, *Sanskrit - Essentials of Grammar and Language* by Kurt F. Leidecker represents one of such attempts made in the present century. As mentioned in the introduction, this book is widely used for the beginners in Sanskrit language in U.S.A. This work does not actually warrant a fresh review, as it is only a revised edition of the one which was first published in 1934 and again as a reprint in 1956. One of the important features of this book, apart from brevity, is that it is planned and systematically developed according to the principles of Comparative Philology. The book is written keeping in mind only those students who have thorough grasp of English grammar. Therefore the first chapter is devoted to draw the relation English bears with Sanskrit in the PIE family as regards vacabulary, etc., and subsequent chapters are devoted to study the aspects of Sanskrit in comparison with English. The whole work is divided into twelve chapters, of which the last one contains a few selections from the *Bhagavadgītā* and the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* with readable annotations. The value of the second edition is enhanced by the introduction of nine pages by Prof. K. Kunjunni Raja, in which besides briefly summing up all the essentials of the PIE language with special reference to Sanskrit, he draws at length the morphological structure of Sanskrit language. Thus this introduction forms a supplement to the first chapter showing the signifi-

cance of the study of Sanskrit for a student of linguistics and its relation with other branches of the PIE family.

The work helps also those Indian students who study Sanskrit on modern lines in the colleges. The Adyar Library and Research Centre is to be thanked for making available to the students this book in a beautiful get up, faultless printing and at a reasonable price.

—M. Srimannarayana Murti

పుస్తక సమీక్ష

హిస్టారికల్ అట్లాస్ – రచయిత ముప్పాళ్ల హనుమంతరావు, ఎం.ఏ. చరిత్ర విభాగంలో ఉపన్యాసకులు – గవర్నమెంటు కాలేజి – రాజమండ్రి – పుటలు 72. వెల రూ. 3–00 లు.

ఇందులో చిత్రాలే కాకుండా చిత్రాల ప్రక్క పుటలలో ఆయా ప్రదేశాలను పాలించిన రాజుల చరిత్ర – వారి పరిపాలనా సంవత్సరాలు వగైరాలన్నీ ఉన్నాయి. తుదిని కొన్ని ముఖ్యమైన ఊర్ల పేర్లు – వాటి ప్రాముఖ్యాన్ని వివరిస్తున్న చిన్నటిప్పణి కూడా ఉంది. అందరూ వీరి భావాలతో ఏకీభవించకపోవచ్చు. ఏది ఏమైనా పుస్తకం బాగా ఉంది. శ్రీ హనుమంతరావుగారు చాలా శ్రమపడి ఈ కార్యం చేశారు. ఇందుకు వీరు అభినందనీయులు.

నాకు లోపాలని తోచిన కొన్ని సూచిస్తున్నాను.

1. ముఖపత్రంపై పేర్కొన్న అడ్రసూ లోపల పేర్కొన్న అడ్రసూ భిన్నంగా ఉన్నాయి. పుస్తకం కొనాలనే వారికి చిక్కు కలుగుతుంది.

2. భూమికలో "పూర్వచరిత్రకారులు నిర్ణయించిన రాజ్య విస్తీర్ణతలకు, అట్లాసులో నిర్ణయింపబడ్డ రాజ్య విస్తీర్ణతలకు కొన్నిచోట్ల భేదాలు ఉన్నాయి" అన్నారు. పుస్తకాలపేర్లు ఆ పూర్వ చరిత్రకారుల పేర్లు – పుటలు వగైరాలు ఇచ్చి ఉంటే – ఆ భేదాలు ఏమిటో తెలుసుకోవాలనే వారికి ఉపయోగపడేది లేదా బిబ్లియాగ్రఫియైనా వ్రాసిఉంటే బాగుండేది.

3. ఆంధ్రదేశచరిత్రకు అవసమయ్యే యాదవులు, కాకతీయులు, హోయసలులు, పాండ్యులు, గజపతులు, కంపిలవారు, సంగములు, సాళ్వులు మొదలైన వారి పాలనను గూర్చి, వారి సామంతుల పాలనను గూర్చి, వారి రాజ్య విస్తీర్ణతను గూర్చి ప్రత్యేకంగా చిత్రపటాలు – వివరణలు ఇచ్చి ఉంటే బాగుండేది.

4. పుట 8 అశోక (మౌర్య) సామ్రాజ్య చిత్ర వివరణలో "అశోకుని శిలాశాసనాలు వాయవ్యంలో సుభాజగిరిలోను" అన్నారు, కాని చిత్రంలో సుభాజగిరి లేదు; అదే చిత్రంలో 'ప్రయాగ' అనీ వివరణలో అలహాబాదు అనీ తెలిపినారు. దీనికి లోహపుశాసన స్తంభాలకు వేసిన గుర్తు వేయలేదు. అదే చిత్రంలో 'తార్యనందనఘర్' అన్నారు వివరణలో నందనఘర్ అన్నారు అదే చిత్రంలో చిన్నరకపు శాసనస్తంభాలని కొన్ని పేర్లిచ్చినారు కాని 'సాంచి'కి చూపిన గుర్తు బారాబర్ అన్నదానికి ఇవ్వలేదు.

5. పుట 34 విజయనగర చిత్రంలో "కృష్ణదేవరాయలు వేంగిలో ప్రవేశించి సీతాబ్ ఖాన్ అనే గజపతుల సామంతుని ఓడించి నల్లగొండ వరంగల్లు జిల్లాలలో కొన్ని దుర్గాలను, రాజమహేంద్రవరాన్ని ఆక్రమించినాడు" అన్నారు. కృష్ణరాయల జైత్ర యాత్రా మార్గాన్ని చూపుతూ వేసిన బాటగాని, జయించిన ప్రదేశాలకు వేసిన ⊙ చిహ్నం గాని వేంగికి వేయలేదు. నల్లగొండ వరంగల్లు జిల్లాలలో కొన్ని దుర్గాలు అన్నారే కాని వాటి పేర్లు పేర్కొనలేదు. ఇటువంటివి ఇంకా ఉన్నాయి.

ఈ లోపాలన్నీ రాబోయే ముద్రణంలో సరిదిద్దుతారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

పుస్తకం బాగా ఉంది. చరిత్ర పరిశోధన సాగించేవారికి ఈ పుస్తకం చాలా వరకు ఉపయోగిస్తుంది. అన్ని గ్రంథాలయాలలోను, కాలేజీలలోను, హైస్కూళ్లలోను ఉండ తగిన పుస్తకం ఇది.

A.V. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యులు.

తపతీ సంవరణము – కర్త; అద్దంకి గంగాధర కవి – పరిష్కర్త డాక్టర్ పాటిబండ మాధవశర్మ, యు.జి.సి. ప్రొఫెసర్ – ఆంధ్రశాఖ – ఉస్మానియా విశ్వవిద్యాలయము – ప్రకాశకులు శ్రీ పరమేశ్వర పబ్లికేషన్సు – హైదరాబాదు 27. పుటలు 105 వెల సాదా ప్రతి రూ. 4–0॥ మేలు ప్రతి రూ. 5 00.

"ముద్రితాలై అలభ్యాలైన – అముద్రితాలైన ఆంధ్రకావ్యాలను పరిష్కరించి పీఠికలు వెలయించి ఇస్తే ప్రకటిస్తాము" అన్న ప్రకాశకుల విన్నపం చాలా బాగుంది. వీరి విన్నపాన్ని పరిశోధకులు – పండితులు మన్నిస్తే మరుగుపడిన ఎన్నో ప్రాచీన కావ్యాలు వెలుగు మొగం చూస్తాయి. ఈ విన్నపం మూలంగా వెలువడే గ్రంథాలలో ఇది 13 వది.

డాక్టర్ శర్మగారు పీఠికలో చాలా విషయాలు వ్రాశారు. పీఠిక చక్కగా ఉంది. పీఠిక పుట 56లో శ్రీ శర్మగారు "మిగిలియున్న దోషములకు ఎవరేని సవరణలు సూచించినచో మరియొక ముద్రణమున వానిని చేర్పగలను" అన్నారు. కావున నాకు తోచిన సవరణలు చూపుతున్నాను.

పీఠిక 4–వ పుటలో "గంగాధర కవి కేదారగురుని యొద్ద సాహిత్య శాస్త్రముతో పాటు ఇతర శాస్త్రములను పెక్కింటిని గూడ అధ్యయనము చేసియుండినట్లు ఊహింప వచ్చును అంటూ" "ఆఱంగములతోడ" అన్న సీసపద్యాన్ని ఉదాహరణంగా చూపి "గంగాధరుడు తన్ను గూర్చి భంగ్యంతరమున చెప్పికొన్న మాటలనుగా భావింపవచ్చును" అన్నారు. ఇది సరియైన భావనకాదు. కవి తలపూ అదికాదు. కవి తానా విషయం వ్రాయదలచి ఉంటే కృత్యవతరణికలో 16 వ పద్యం వద్ద వ్రాసి ఉండేవాడు.

పై సీసపద్యం 2 వ ఆశ్వాసంలో 38 వ పద్యంగా ప్రకటింపబడింది. గ్రంథంలో ప్రకటింపబడిన తీరుకు పీఠికలో ప్రకటింపబడిన తీరుకు తేడావుంది. పీఠికలో "హస్తి పదమున సడఁగవే యుదుగులెల్ల" అన్నచోట యతి తప్పింది. యతిస్థానాలు వచ్చినప్పుడైనా కొంచం జాగ్రత్త వహించవలసింది పరిష్కర్త.

పీఠిక 8 వ పుటలో "రాజతిలకుండు మల్కిభరామ శౌరి" అన్నారు. గ్రంథం 1 వ ఆశ్వా. 11 వ పద్యంలో "రాజతిలకుండు మలికిభరాము శాహి" అన్నారు. శాహికి పాఠాంతరం శాలి అన్నారు. అవన్నీ పోయి పీఠికలో శౌరి అన్నారు. ఇవన్నీ పరస్పర విరుద్ధ విషయాలు.

పీఠిక తుదిపుటలో చిన్న తప్పొప్పుల పట్టిక ఇచ్చారు. అందులో 29 వ పుటలో "సద్మ"కు "పద్మ" ఉండాలన్నారు. గ్రంథం 29 వ పుటలో 'సద్మ' అన్న పదమే లేదు. తప్పొప్పుల పట్టికకు మరొక తప్పొప్పుల పట్టిక వేయవలసి వచ్చే విధంగా ఉంది.

పీఠిక 55 వ పుటలో కోరికె మొదలైన పదాలు శబ్దరత్నాకరమున లేవన్నారు. ఏ ఆశ్వాసంలో ఏ పద్యంలో వచ్చిందో తెలిపితే పాఠకులకు సౌకర్యంగా ఉండేది. శబ్దరత్నాకరం ఒక్కటేకాదు మనకుండే నిఘంటువు. ఇంకా ఎన్నో నిఘంటువులు ఉన్నాయి. కోరిక–కోర్కె–కోరికి–కోరికె అనే రూపాలున్నాయికదా

ఇక గ్రంథ భాగానికి వెద్దాం.

పరిష్కరణకు మాతృకను ఆధారంగా తీసుకోవడం పరిపాటే గాని దాని పుత్రికను ఆధారంగా తీసుకోవడం పరిపాటిగాదు. కాని ఎందుకో పరిష్కర్తగారు పుత్రికను కూడా ఆధారంగా తీసుకొన్నారు. పుత్రికలోని పాఠాంతరాలు వగైరాలు సరిగా గుర్తించలేదు. R 2498 పుత్రికలో చాలా చోట్ల విషయవివరణాన్ని తెలిపే ఉపశీర్షిక లున్నాయి. అవన్నీ ఈ పరిష్కరణలో లేవు. R 2498 ప్రతితో సరిపోల్చిచూచి నేనీ విషయాలు వ్రాస్తున్నాను. చాలా వ్యత్యాసాలు కానవస్తున్నాయి.

మూల గ్రంథంలోను, దాని పుత్రికలోను లఘురేఫ ప్రాయికంగా ప్రయోగింపబడింది. పరిష్కర్త గురురేఫగా మార్చినారు. ఈ విషయం నామమాత్రంగానైనా పీఠికలో పేర్కొనలేదు

కొన్నిచోట్లల్లో గణభంగం కలిగింది — 1 ఆ 86 వ పద్యంలో "నిర్జితానంగుండై" అనడానికి "నిర్జితానంగుడై", 2 ఆ 64 లో "రాజశేఖరుడవ వీవ" అనడానికి "రాజశేఖరుడ వీవ"; 2 ఆ 72 లో "దేతద్ధ్రమునకు" అనడానికి "దేతదర్థమునకు"; 2 ఆ 80లో "విప్పల నులకు" అనడానికి "విప్పనులకు"; 2 ఆ 10 లో "రమాభాసమాన" అనడానికి "రమాభాసమానా"; 4 ఆ 11లో "అసాళువంబు" అనడానికి "అసాళువంబు"; 4 ఆ 93లో "యాతాయాతా" అనడానికి "యాతాయాత" అని ఉంటే గణభంగం కలగదు.

కొన్నిచోట్లల్లో యతిభంగం కలిగింది — 3 ఆ 3లో "ఖావమస్మదాగమన" అన దానికి "భావమస్మదాగమన" అనీ; 5 ఆ 17లో "య్యేదగాలి పశ్యతోహరుడుగాగ" అన దానికి "య్యదగాలి" అనీ ఉంటే యతి సరిపోతుంది. యతిభంగం ఉండదు.

ఒకచోట ప్రాసతప్పింది. 5 ఆ 15లో "భప" అనడానికి "భవ" అని ఉంటే ప్రాససరిపోతుంది. పద్యకావ్యానికి గణాలు యతులు ప్రాసలు అతిముఖ్యాలైనవి. పరిష్కర్త శ్రద్ధవహించి ఉంటే పై దోషాలు దొర్లేవి కావు.

కొన్నిచోట్లల్లో అర్థం సరిగా కుదరడం లేదు. ఈ క్రింది విధంగా మార్పులు చేస్తే సరిగా అర్థం కుదురుతుంది. 2 ఆ 10లో 'బద్ధముఖరాశి'కి 'బద్ధముఖరాళి' అనీ; 2 ఆ 10లో 'రజని దినములు'కు 'రజనిదివములు' అనీ; 2 ఆ 58 లో "ప్రమానిపంటిపయి"కి 'ప్రమానిపంటికయి' అనీ; 3 ఆ 10లో 'సంగరంగ'కు 'సంతరంగ' అనీ; 3 ఆ 42లో 'పంచబాణ'కు 'పంచబాణు' అనీ; 4 ఆ 15లో 'దనుమక'కు 'దునుమక' అనీ; 4 ఆ 74లో 'డింద్రజాలిక'కు 'డైంద్రజాలిక' అనీ; 4 ఆ 80లో 'నెలజవ్వనకు'కు 'యెలజవ్వన' అనీ; 5 ఆ 7 లో 'తమమున'కు 'తపమున' అనీ; ఉంటే ఆయా సందర్భాలలో అర్థం సరిగా ఉంటుంది, ఇట్లాంటివి ఇంకా చాలా ఉన్నాయి,

2 ఆ 31 వ పద్యానికి * గుర్తువేసినారు కాని అధోజ్ఞాపికలో వివరణ లేదు.

సీసపద్యం తర్వాత వచ్చే గీతంలోగాని; ఆట వెలదిలోగాని వచ్చే అచ్చును కొన్నిచోట్ల అచ్చుగాను కొన్నిచోట్ల సమాసంతో కలిపీ చూపినారు. ఒక నియమం పాటించలేదు. చూ, 2 ఆ 80; 2 ఆ 83; 3 ఆ 95: 4 ఆ 64; 4 ఆ 74; 5 ఆ 75; పద్యాలు.

ముద్రారాక్షసాలు కొల్లలుగా ఉన్నాయి. పరిష్కర్త స్వయంగా తగినంత శ్రద్ధ వహించలేదనడానికి ఇవన్నీ నిదర్శనాలు. పరిష్కర్త స్వయంగా మూలంతో సంప్రతించి ఉంటే చాలాభాగం తప్పులు దొర్లక ఉండేవి. రాబోయే ముద్రణంలో ఇవన్నీ సరిదిద్ద గలరని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

అలభ్యంగా ఉండే అపూర్వ ఆంధ్రగ్రంథాన్ని ఆంధ్రుల కందించిన పరిష్కర్త గారికి, శ్రీ పరమేశ్వర పబ్లికేషన్సువారికి తెలుగుదేశం ఎంతో ఋణపడిఉంది. ఈ గ్రంథాన్ని అందరూ కొని ఆదరిస్తారని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

A. V. శ్రీనివాసాచార్యులు.

బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి

విశ్వనాథ సాహితీ దర్శనం

(రచయితలు : విద్వాన్ తాటికొండ వేంకటకృష్ణయ్య, ముదివేడు ప్రభాకరరావు ఎం.ఏ.
⅛ డెమ్మీ సైజు, 220 పుటలు. వెల : 15 రూ. ప్రథమ ముద్రణ : జూలై 1976.

ప్రతులకు : శ్రీమతి టి. యమ్. లక్ష్మి, "విజయప్రభాస" 118, శ్రీరాములవారి సన్నిధివీధి, తిరుపతి–517501).

సాధారణంగా ఒక గ్రంథాన్ని సమీక్షించేటప్పుడు రెండు అంశాలు ముఖ్యంగా ముందు నిలుస్తాయి. (1) గ్రంథస్వరూపం (2) గ్రంథస్వభావం. గ్రంథం యొక్క, అందలి భాగాలయొక్క నామకరణం, అచ్చుకూర్పు, అందమైన తీర్పు (get-up) మొదలైనవి మొదటి అంశానికి చెందినవి. గ్రంథంలోని విషయం, ఆ విషయ ప్రతిపాదనకు పాత్రీభూతమైన భాష (శైలి), రచయిత లోకానికి అందించదలచిన సందేశము — మున్నగునవి రెండవ అంశంలో ప్రాధాన్యం వహిస్తాయి

ఒక మహాకవి సృజించిన సాహిత్యాన్ని, ఆ సాహితీ సృజనకు ఆలవాలమైన ఆయన జీవితాన్ని లక్ష్య లక్షణధోరణిలో సమన్వయించి చూపే విమర్శనాత్మక రచనలు మనభాషలో వ్రేళ్ళపై లెక్కిడదగి ఉన్నాయి. ప్రకృత గ్రంథం ఆ కోవలో ఇటీవల వెల్వడిన వినూత్నరచన. ఈ కృతి సుగృహీతనామధేయులైన కవిసమ్రాట్ విశ్వనాథ సత్యనారాయణగారి బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తిమత్త్వాన్ని, సరససాహిత్యవైశిష్ట్య చతురిమనూ, సమగ్రంగా, చక్కగా, సంగ్రహంగా చిత్రిస్తూవున్నది

అసలు, ఈ గ్రంథ నామకరణంలోనే ఒక విశిష్టత ద్యోతక మవుతూవుంది. విశ్వనాథమహాకవి విరచిత రామాయణకల్పవృక్షావతారికలోని

> అల నన్నయ్యకు లేదు, తిక్కనకు లేదా భోగ మస్మాదృశుం
> డలఘుస్వాదు రసావతారధిషణాహంకారసంభార దో
> హల బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి శిష్యుఁ డయినాఁ డన్నట్టి దా వ్యోమపే
> శల చాంద్రీమృదుకీర్తి చెళ్ళపిళవంశస్వామి కున్నట్లుగన్.

అను పద్యంలోని 'బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి' ఈ గ్రంథనామధేయంలోని ప్రధానభాగంగా పరిగ్రహింపబడింది, పై పద్యంలో ఈ 'బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి'కి ఒక సుదీర్ఘ విశేషణం చెప్ప

బడింది. ఈ గ్రంథ శీర్షికలోని 'విశ్వనాథ సాహితీదర్శనం' అనే భాగం ఆ సుదీర్ఘ విశేషణానికి ప్రాతినిధ్యం వహిస్తున్నది. ఈ విధంగా ప్రకృతగ్రంథం పై పద్యానికి వ్యాఖ్యానప్రాయంగా వెలసిన రమణీయరచన అని చెప్పవచ్చు.

ఈ గ్రంథం మూడు ప్రధానభాగాలుగా వింగడింపబడి ఉంది. 'బ్రాహ్మీమయమూర్తి' అనే మొదటిభాగంలో నాలుగు వ్యాసా లున్నాయి. ఉషోదర్శనం (పూర్వరంగం) అనే మొదటి వ్యాసంలో సత్యనారాయణగారికన్న పూర్వం ఆంధ్ర సారస్వతరంగంలో సాగుతూ వుండిన కృషి సమీక్షింపబడుతూ భావకవితోద్యమం వంటివాటిని విశ్వనాథ స్వీయమూర్తిమత్త్వంచే ప్రభావితం చేసిన తీరు తెల్పబడింది,

భాస్కర దర్శనంలో, విశ్వనాథవారి జననం, బాల్యసంఘటనలు, ఉపనయనం, వివాహం, చెళ్ళపిళ్ళవారి శిష్యత్వం, కొడాలి, పింగళి, కాటూరి మొదలగు మిత్రుల సాహచర్యం, లేఖ్రాయంలో కవితారచన — ఇత్యాది విషయాలు సహజంగా, సంక్షిప్తంగా ఆవిష్కరింపబడినాయి. మార్తాండ దర్శనంలో, నిజజీవితంలో ఎన్నో ఒడిదుడుకులను ఎదుర్కొంటూనే వాఙ్మయరంగంలో విశ్వనాథవారు మధ్యందినమార్తాండమూర్తిగా ప్రకాశించిన తీరు ప్రదర్శితమయింది

ప్రతిభాదర్శనంలో, కళాప్రపూర్ణమైన విశ్వనాథుల ప్రతిభామూర్తిని ప్రభుత్వమూ, ప్రజాసంస్థలూ బిరుదాలతో, కనకాభిషేకాలతో బహుమానాలతో సముచితంగా సత్కరించిన సన్నివేశాలు ఆనుపూర్విగా వివరింపబడ్డాయి.

ఇక, ద్వితీయభాగమైన 'సాహితీదర్శనం'లో విశ్వనాథవారి విలక్షణవ్యక్తిత్వం, 'ఆంధ్రప్రశస్తి', 'కిన్నెరసాని' వంటి వారికృతులు విశిష్టోద్యమాలకు మార్గదర్శకాలైన విధమూ, వారి కవితారసోత్కర్ష, సహృదయత, వక్తృత్వప్రతిభ మున్నగు ప్రత్యేకతలు సోపపత్తికంగా నిరూపింపబడినాయి ఈ భాగంలోని 'విమర్శక చక్రవర్తి' 'రాజకీయ సమన్వయదర్శనం'. 'విశ్వ జనీనకవి' అనే చివరి మూడువ్యాసాలూ, అట్లే మూడవ భాగమైన 'అనుబంధం'లో చేర్చబడిన విశ్వనాథవారి వ్యాసమూ పఠితలు పునఃపునః పరిశీలింపదగి ఉన్నాయి.

ఈ గ్రంథంలోని భాష సుబోధమగు శిష్టవ్యావహారికం. ఇది యిరువురి వ్యాసాల సంకలనమైనప్పటికీ, ఆ యా సందర్భానుసారం స్వీకరింపబడిన ఉల్లేఖనాలు అనేకం ఇందు చోటుచేసుకొన్నప్పటికీ పాఠకులకు శైలిలో తేడా కన్పించదు. జంటకవులవంటి ఈ రచయితల కూర్పునేర్పే ఇందుకు హేతువు. ఇందలి ప్రతివ్యాసమూ ఉపక్రమోపసంహారాల్లో అన్వర్థాలైన ఆర్షచ్ఛందస్సులతో అలరుతూవుండడం మరొక విశేషం.

అనుబంధంలో విశ్వనాథవారి వివిధ రచనలను గూర్చి ఆ యా విద్వద్విమర్శకులు ప్రపచించిన లఘువ్యాసాలు, పద్యాలు, కవిసమ్రాట్టు రచించిన శతాధిక గ్రంథాల సూచిక

ఒక్కచో కూర్చబడివుండడం అభినందనీయం. ఇన్నిటికి తోడు ఇందులో 'అకారాది ముఖ్యపదసూచి' (Index) చేర్చివుంటే ఇంకా బాగుండేది.

ఈ గ్రంథం ఇంతటి విషయగుంఫితంగా వెలువడడానికి ముఖ్యకారకులు విద్వాన్ వేంకటకృష్ణయ్యగారు. విశ్వనాథవారితో వీరికిగల ప్రగాఢసాహితీ బాంధవ్యం పెక్కేండ్ల నాటిది. నిరంతరపఠనశీలురైన వీరు ఎన్నో ఏండ్లనుండి సంపాదించిపెట్టిన 'విశ్వనాథ వాఙ్మయం' ఈ గ్రంథ నిర్మితికి మూలద్రవ్యమైన ముడిసరుకుగా ఉపయుక్తమయింది. ఒక్కమాటలో చెబితే, ఆంగ్ల మేధావియైన 'జాన్సన్'కు 'బాస్వెల్' ఎలాంటివాడో, ఆనందకుమారస్వామికి దొరై రాజసింగం ఎటువంటివాడో, కృష్ణయ్యగారు విశ్వనాథకు అట్టి సారస్వతబంధువు. వీరికి, రామాయణ కల్పవృక్షంపై పరిశోధన సల్పుతూవున్న ఉత్సాహి, యువకుడు, చక్కని రచయిత అయిన ప్రభాకరరావుగారి తోడ్పాటు లభించడం మిగుల ముదావహ మయిన విషయం.

ఇలా ఈ యిరువురి సాహిత్యకృషి ఫలితమైన ఈ గ్రంథం, విశ్వనాథవాఙ్మయ పరిశోధకులకు ప్రశంసనీయమగు పథనిర్దేశం చేస్తోంది. ఈ గ్రంథం, విశ్వనాథ మహాకవికి సహస్రచంద్ర దర్శనోత్సవ శుభసమయంలో అంకితం అవడం, ఈ కృతి సంతరించుకొన్న ఒకానొక సుకృత విశేషం !

తప్పొప్పుల పట్టిక కాస్త పెద్దదిగానే వున్నా, మొత్తంపై ఈ పుస్తకముద్రణ బాగానే ఉంది. ఇందలి రెండు చిత్రాల్లో మొదటిది (ముఖచిత్రం) 'బ్రాహ్మీమయ మూర్తి'ని, రెండవది 'స్వాదురసావతారధిషణాహంకారసంభారదోహల'మైన సాహితీ దర్శనాన్ని స్థూలంగా స్ఫురింపజేస్తూవున్నాయి. వీటన్నిటికి తోడు, 'లలితకళానిధి' మైనంపాటి సుబ్రహ్మణ్యశర్మగారి ముఖచిత్ర అక్షరాలంకరణ ఈ రచనకు తిలకాయమానమై అమరి ఉంది.

కె. జె. కృష్ణమూర్తి.

एन्. एस्. रामानुजताताचार्यः

प्रमालक्षणवादः

तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ प्रमालक्षणवादे गङ्गेशोपाध्यायैः बहूनि प्रमालक्षणानि अनूद्य दूषयित्वा कानिचित् लक्षणानि परिष्कृत्य निर्दोषतया प्रादर्शिषत। अत्र विषये प्राक्तनन्यायवैशेषिकग्रन्थेषु मीमांसादिशास्त्रान्तरग्रन्थेषु च कीदृशी स्थितिरिति परामृश्य मणिकारमतं पर्यालोचयिष्यामः।

न्यायसूत्राभिमतं प्रमायाः लक्षणम्

'तत्त्वज्ञानान्निःश्रेयसाधिगमः' (न्या.सू. 1-1-1) इति प्रथमसूत्रेण तत्त्वज्ञानस्यापवर्गोपायत्वमुक्त्वा तत्प्रकारप्रतिपादनपरे 'दुःखजन्मप्रवृत्तिदोषमिथ्याज्ञानानामुत्तरोत्तरापाये तदनन्तरापायादपवर्गः' (न्या.सू. 1-1-2) इति द्वितीयसूत्रे तत्त्वज्ञानस्य मिथ्याज्ञाननिवर्तकत्वकथनेन तत्त्वज्ञानं प्रमा इति न्यायसूत्रकारो मन्यते। मिथ्याज्ञानं हि भ्रमः। तस्य निवर्तकं ज्ञानं च प्रमा। तां तत्त्वज्ञानपदेन व्यवहरन् सूत्रकारः याथार्थ्यं प्रमालक्षणघटकमभिप्रैति। तस्य भावस्तत्त्वम्। तस्य ज्ञानं तत्त्वज्ञानम्। विशेष्यवृत्तिप्रकारविषयकज्ञानमिति यावत्।

नन्वेतावता स्मृतेः प्रमात्वं न व्यावर्तितं भवति। ज्ञानपदस्यैव सूत्रे प्रयोगेण स्मृतेरपि तत्त्वज्ञानत्वादिति चेत् - न। व्यवहारानुसारेण हि प्रमात्वं निश्चेतव्यम्। प्रमाणेदंपरदर्शनप्रवर्तका गोतमप्रभृतयो वृद्धाः स्मृतिहेतुं यतः प्रमाणपदेन न व्यवहरन्ति, अतः स्मृतिर्न प्रमेत्येव ते आशेरते। अतः ज्ञानपदेनानुभवः सूत्रकारस्य विवक्षितः। अतो न स्मृतावतिव्याप्तिः प्रमालक्षणस्य।

न्यायभाष्यारूढं प्रमालक्षणम्

तृतीयसूत्रे भाष्ये[1] – 'उपलब्धिसाधनानि प्रमाणानीति समाख्यानिर्वचन-सामर्थ्याद् बोद्धव्यम्' इति वदन् वात्स्यायनः 'उपलब्धिः प्रमा' इति सूचयति। 'बुद्धिरुपलब्धिर्ज्ञानमित्यनर्थान्तरम्' (न्या.सू. 1-1-15) इति न्यायसूत्रानुसारेण उपलब्धिपदस्य ज्ञानमित्यर्थः। निर्विषयकज्ञानस्यासंभवात् अर्थविषयकज्ञानत्वं प्रमात्व-मिति उक्तभाष्यतो लभ्यते। अतएव प्रथमसूत्रे – 'यत्तदर्थविज्ञानं सा प्रमितिः' इति भाष्यम्।[2] वार्तिककारोऽपि[3] – 'उपलब्धिहेतुः प्रमाणम्' इति वदन् अर्थविषयक-ज्ञानत्वं प्रमाया लक्षणमित्येव मन्यते।

टीकाकारीयं प्रमालक्षणम्

परंतु अर्थविषयकज्ञानत्वमात्रस्य प्रमालक्षणत्वे भ्रमे स्मृतौ चातिव्याप्तिर्भवेदिति पर्यालोच्य वाचस्पतिमिश्राः अर्थाव्यभिचारि स्मृतिभिन्नं ज्ञानं प्रमेति प्रमायाः लक्षणं वदन्ति। ज्ञानस्यार्थाव्यभिचारित्वं च यथावस्थितार्थविषयकत्वम्। तथा च यथावस्थितार्थविषयकं ज्ञानं प्रमेत्युक्तं भवति। तथा च तात्पर्यटीका[4] –

> 'लोकाधीनावधारणो हि शब्दार्थसंवन्धः। लोकश्च स्मृतेरन्यामुपलब्धिमर्थाव्यभिचारिणीं प्रमामाचष्टे' इति –
>
> 'इयमेव चार्थाव्यभिचारिता प्रमाणस्य यत् देशकालान्तरा-वस्थान्तराविसंवादोऽर्थस्वरूपप्रकारयोस्तदुपदर्शितयोः' इति च।

अत्र 'अव्यभिचारस्वरूपं तु भूतार्थपरिच्छेदकत्वम्' इत्याहुः परिशुद्धिकारा उदयनाचार्याः।[5]

अपि च दुःखजन्मसूत्रे भाष्ये अतस्मिंस्तदिति ज्ञानं मिथ्याज्ञानमिति नानोदा-हरणपूर्वकं प्रतिपाद्य –

> 'तत्त्वज्ञानं तु मिथ्याज्ञानविपर्ययेण व्याख्यातम्'[6]

इत्यभ्यधायि।

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1. न्या. भा. पृ. 182 (Edited by Ananta Lal Thakkur, Published by Mithila Institute in 1967).
2. न्या.भा.पृ. 1 Ibid.
3. न्या.वा.पृ. 9 Ibid.
4. ता.टी.पृ. 35, 24 Ibid.
5. ता.टी.परि.पृ. 81 Ibid.
6. न्या.भा.पृ. 151.

तत्र च वार्तिके[7] – 'स्वरूपतस्तु यथावस्थितपदार्थाधिगतिः' इति तत्त्वज्ञानलक्षणं निरुक्तम्। येन प्रकारेण पदार्थोऽस्ति तत्प्रकारविशिष्टतया तज्ज्ञानमिति तदर्थः। अत्रापि स्मृतावतिव्याप्तिवारणाय अधिगतिपदमनुभवपरतया व्याख्यातव्यम्।

भासर्वज्ञनिरुक्तं प्रमात्वम्

न्यायसारे[8] – 'सम्यगनुभवसाधनं प्रमाणम्' इति प्रमाणलक्षणमुपवर्णितम्। तेन 'सम्यगनुभवः प्रमा' इति प्रमाणलक्षणं सूचितम्। सम्यक् चासावनुभवश्च सम्यगनुभवः। अनुभवे सम्यक्त्वं च तथाभूतार्थनिश्चयस्वभावत्वमिति न्यायभूषणे।[9] अनुभवे विशेष्यभूतोऽर्थः यत्प्रकारविशिष्टो भवति तत्प्रकारविशिष्टतद्विशेष्यकानुभवः प्रमेति तदर्थः।

लक्षणावलीग्रन्थोक्तं प्रमात्वम्[10]

सूत्रस्थस्य तत्त्वज्ञानपदस्य स्थाने तत्त्वानुभूतिरिति पदमादिश्य 'तत्त्वानुभूतिः प्रमा' इति प्रमालक्षणमुक्तं लक्षणावल्याम्। सप्तपदार्थ्यां[11] शिवादित्यमिश्रैरप्येवमेवोक्तम्। अतः स्मृतौ नातिव्याप्तिरिति तदाशयः। इदं च लक्षणं बहुधा विकल्प्य खण्डनखण्डखाद्ये दूषितम्।

जयन्तभट्टीयं प्रमात्वलक्षणम् तत्परिशीलनं च।

न्यायमञ्जरीकारास्तु[12] –

> 'कर्तृकर्मविलक्षणा संशयविपर्ययरहितार्थबोधविधायिनी
> बोधाबोधस्वभावा सामग्री प्रमाणम्' इति वदन्ति।

इदं प्रमाणलक्षणम्। इतः प्रमालक्षणमेवं पर्यवस्यति यत् संशयभिन्नः विपर्ययभिन्नश्च अर्थबोधः प्रमा इति। रहितशब्दः भिन्नपरः। परं त्वेतद्रीत्या लक्षणकथने

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7. न्या.वा.पृ. 154.
8. न्या.सा.पृ. 11 (Edited by Swami Yogindrananda, Published by Shaddarsana Prakasan, Varanasi, 1968).
9. न्या.भू.पृ. 12.
10. लक्षणा. Edited by Sasinath Jha, Mithila Institute, 1963.
11. स.प. Edited by Amarendra Mohan Tarkatirtha, Calcutta, 1934.
12. न्या.म.पृ. 14, Chowkhamba, 1936.

तर्केऽतिव्याप्तिः प्रसजति । तर्को ह्यप्रमारूपत्वादलक्ष्यः । तत्र च संशयविपर्ययभि- मत्यर्थज्ञानत्वमस्तीत्यतिव्याप्तिः । एवं स्मृतावप्युक्तलक्षणसद्भावादतिव्याप्तिः प्राप्नो

जयन्तभट्टैरेव[13] –

'अव्यभिचारिणीमसंदिग्धामर्थोपलब्धिं विदधती
बोधाबोधस्वभावा सामग्री प्रमाणम्'

इत्यपि कथितम् । इतः अव्यभिचारिणी संशयभिन्ना चार्थोपलब्धिः प्रमा इ लक्षणं सूचितं भवति । अव्यभिचारिणी इत्यस्य अतस्मिंस्तदवगाहिभिन्ना अथ तस्मिंस्तदवगाहिनी इत्यर्थः । तथा च भाष्यम्[14] –

'यदतस्मिंस्तदिति तद्व्यभिचारि, यत्तु तस्मिंस्तदिति
तत् अव्यभिचारि' इति ।

एवं चाव्यभिचारिपदेन विपर्ययतर्कयोरुभयोर्निरासः । परं त्वस्मिंल्लक्षणेऽपि स्मृतावति व्याप्तिर्दुरुद्धरा । 'बुद्धिरुपलब्धिर्ज्ञानमित्यनर्थान्तरम्' (न्या.सू. 1-1-15) इति सूत्रे उपलब्धिशब्दस्य ज्ञानसामान्यवाचिनः स्मृतिसाधारणत्वात् ।

तात्पर्यटीकापरिशुद्ध्युक्तं प्रमालक्षणम्, तत्परिशीलनं च

परिशुद्धौ तावदुदयनाचार्यैः[15] – 'प्रमा चाविपरीतोपलब्धिः' इति लक्षण मुक्तम् । अत्र चोपलब्धिशब्दः अनुभवपरः । तथा चाविपरीतानुभवः प्रमेति फलितम् । अतएवानन्तरं तत्रैव – 'अतोऽविपरीतानुभवजनकत्वलक्षणमव्यभिचारित्व मेव प्रामाण्यमित्यर्थः' इति पङ्क्तिर्दृश्यते । अविपरीत इत्यस्य भ्रमभिन्न इत्यर्थः । परन्तु धर्म्यंशे प्रमारूपे भ्रमे भ्रमभिन्नत्वाभावादव्याप्तिरत्र दोषः परिस्फुरति ।

कुसुमाञ्जलिग्रन्थोक्तं प्रमालक्षणम्

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ उदयनाचार्याः[16] –

'यथार्थानुभवो मानमनपेक्षतयेष्यते' इति

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13. Ibid 12.
14. न्या.भा.पृ. 198.
15. ता.टी.प.पृ. 79.
16. न्या.कु. 4-1 Ed. by Viraraghavacharya, Tirupati 1940.

कारिकाभागेन यथार्थानुभवत्वं प्रमाया लक्षणमिति प्रत्यपादयन्। तथा 'मितिः सम्यक्परिच्छित्तिः'[17] इति तैरेव सम्यगनुभवत्वं प्रमाया लक्षणं प्रोक्तम्। अनुभवपद-संयोजनेन स्मृतावतिव्याप्तिर्निराकृता भवति। परंतु किमिदं नाम यथार्थत्वं सम्यक्त्वं वा अनुभवस्येति जिज्ञासा समुदेति। तत्र कुसुमाञ्जलिकारस्याशयः यत्र यदस्ति तत्र तद्विषयकत्वमेव यथार्थत्वमिति। तथाहि – भ्रान्तिनिर्वचनावसरे कुसुमाञ्जलौ[18] –

'यत्र यन्नास्ति तत्र तस्यावगतिरिति भ्रान्त्यर्थत्वात्' इत्यभाणि।

तद्व्याख्यानभूते प्रकाशे वर्धमानचरणैः[19] –

'एतेन यद्यत्रास्ति तत्र तज्ज्ञानं प्रमेत्यपि निरुक्तम्'

इति ग्रन्थकृदाशयः प्रकटीचक्रे। एवं च तद्वति तत्प्रकारकानुभवत्वं प्रमात्वमिति उदयनाचार्याणां निष्कृष्टं प्रमालक्षणम्। यथार्थानुभव इत्यस्य यथाभूतोऽर्थः तथा अनुभव इत्यर्थः। अर्थः यत्प्रकारविशिष्टः तत्प्रकारविशिष्टतया तस्यार्थस्य अनुभव इति यावत्। तेन च यत्र यदस्ति तत्र तद्विषयकोऽनुभव इत्यर्थो लभ्यत इति कुसुमाञ्जलि-कारस्य हृदयम्। इदमेव च लक्षणं मणिकारैः सिद्धान्तत्वेन स्वीकृतम्।

वैशेषिकदर्शनसंमतं प्रमालक्षणम्

वैशेषिकदर्शने तु प्रमात्मकज्ञानं विद्येति पदेन अप्रमात्मकज्ञानम् अविद्येति पदेन व्यपदिष्टम्। तत्र 'इन्द्रियदोषात् संस्कारदोषाच्च अविद्या' (वै.सू. 9-2-10) इति सूत्रेण दोषजन्यं ज्ञानमविद्येति अविद्यायाः लक्षणमुक्त्वा तस्या अविद्यायाः 'तद्दुष्टज्ञानं' (वै.सू. 9-2-11) इत्यनन्तरसूत्रेण दुष्टज्ञानपदेन व्यपदेशं कृत्वा 'अदुष्टं विद्या' (वै.सू. 9-2-12) इति सूत्रेण दोषाजन्यज्ञानत्वं विद्यायाः लक्षणमिति सूचितम्।

अथ दर्शनान्तरसंमतानि प्रमालक्षणानि परिशीलयामः

तत्र भाट्टमीमांसकसंमतं प्रमालक्षणम्

पूर्वमीमांसासूत्रकारैः चोदना धर्मे प्रमाणमित्यत्र अव्यतिरेकः अर्थस्यानुप-लब्धत्वं संकेतयितृपुरुषनिरपेक्षत्वं चेति त्रयो हेतवः

17. न्या.कु. 4-5.
18. न्या.कु.पृ. 30 (स्तबक 4).
19. न्या.कु.प्र.पृ. 29 (स्तबक 4).

'अव्यतिरेकश्चार्थेऽनुपलब्धे तत्प्रमाणं बादरायणस्यानपेक्षत्वात्'
(मी.सू. ।-

इति सूत्रेणाभिहिताः । तत्राव्यतिरेको नाम अबाध्यत्वम् । अर्थस्यानुपलब्ध प्रमाणान्तरेणाज्ञातत्वम् । अनपेक्षत्वं च भ्रमविप्रलिप्सादिरूपकारणदोषरहितत्वम् ।

तथाच कारणदोषबाधकज्ञानरहितमज्ञातविषयकं ज्ञानं प्रमेति सूत्रसूचितं लक्षणम् । तत्राद्यविशेषणेन भ्रमसंशययोर्व्युदासः । द्वितीयेन स्मृतेर्व्युदासः । इद लक्षणं मनसिकृत्य श्लोकवार्त्तिके[20] –

'तस्माद् दृढं यदुत्पन्नं न च संवादमृच्छति ।
ज्ञानान्तरेण तज्ज्ञानं प्रमाणमिति मीयताम् ॥'

इति प्रत्यपादि । श्लोके च प्रमाणशब्दः भावार्थकल्युडन्तः प्रमापरः ।

तात्पर्यटीकायामेतल्लक्षणदूषणम्[21]

इदं च भाट्टोक्तं प्रमालक्षणं तात्पर्यटीकायामेवं दूषितम् – अज्ञातार्थविषयक प्रमालक्षणे निवेशयितुं न शक्यते । धारावाहिकविज्ञानेषु द्वितीयादिज्ञाना पूर्वज्ञानावगतार्थविषयकत्वेनाव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । न च पूर्वपूर्वज्ञानाविषयीभूतक्षणविशे विषयकत्वात् तेषामपि प्रमात्वमव्याहतमिति वाच्यम् । परमसूक्ष्माणां कालकलाभेदा मांसलोचनैर्ग्रहीतुमशक्यत्वादिति । क्षणस्यातीन्द्रियत्वेन प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वं न संभवती त्याशयः ।

कुसुमाञ्जलौ एतल्लक्षणदूषणप्रकारः[22]

भाट्टोक्तलक्षणस्य धारावाहिकद्वितीयादिज्ञानेष्वव्याप्तिमुपपाद्य दोषान्तरमपि कुसुमाञ्जलिकाराः प्रतिपादयामासुः । तथाहि – अनादौ संसारे 'यजेत स्वर्गकामः' इत्यादिवेदवाक्यार्थानां यदाकदाचित् एकैकेनाप्यात्मना पूर्वगृहीतत्वावश्यंभावेन तद्विषयकबोधस्य कदापि अगृहीतग्राहकत्वरूपप्रमात्वं न संभवति । न च प्रकृत-जन्मावच्छेदेनागृहीतार्थग्राहित्वं प्रमात्वम् । तथा च जन्मान्तरे ज्ञातत्वेऽपि न दोष

20. श्लो.वा.पृ. 66. Edited by Ramanatha Sastri, Madras University, 1940
21. ता.टी.पृ. 35.
22. न्या.कु.पृ. 4-5 (स्तबक – 4).

इति वाच्यम्। एकस्मिन्नेव जन्मनि येन वेदार्थो ज्ञातो विस्मृतश्च पुनःश्रुतः तत्र पुनःश्रवणात्मकशाब्दबोधस्य ज्ञातविषयकत्वेन अज्ञातविषयकत्वं नास्तीति प्रमालक्षणाव्याप्तिर्दुरुद्धरा भवतीति।

प्राभाकरसंमतं प्रमालक्षणम्, तत्परिशीलनं च

'अनुभूतिः प्रमाणं सा स्मृतेरन्या' इत्याहुः प्रकरणपञ्चिकाकाराः।[23] अनुभवत्वं प्रमायाः लक्षणम्। अनुभवत्वं च स्मृतिभिन्नज्ञानत्वम्। न चास्य लक्षणस्य भ्रमेऽपि सत्त्वादतिव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम्। शुक्तिरजतादिभ्रमस्थले हि नैकं विज्ञानम्। किं तु द्वे ज्ञाने ग्रहणस्मरणरूपे। तत्र रजतमिति ज्ञानं स्मरणरूपम्। तस्यानुभवरूपत्वाभावान्न प्रमात्वप्रसङ्गः। इदमिति ज्ञानं तु अनुभवरूपम्, अतस्तस्य प्रमात्वमिष्टमेवेति न कोऽपि दोष इति तेषामाशयः।

अनुवादवाक्यजन्यज्ञानस्यापि अनुभवरूपत्वात् प्रमात्वप्रसक्त्या तादृशज्ञानजनकानामनुवादवाक्यानां प्रामाण्यं प्रसजेदिति लक्षणमेतन्न युज्यत इति शास्त्रदीपिकाकाराः[24] प्राहुः। किं च प्राभाकरमते सर्वेष्वपि ज्ञानेषु ज्ञानं ज्ञाता विषयश्चेति त्रितयं भासते। तत्र ज्ञातृज्ञानांशयोः प्रमात्वं प्रत्यक्षत्वं चाभ्युपगम्यते। तदुक्तं प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां[25] –

> 'सर्वविज्ञानहेतूत्था मितौ मातरि च प्रमा।
> साक्षात्कर्तृत्वसामान्यात् प्रत्यक्षत्वेन संमता॥' इति

तथा च स्मृतेरपि त्रितयविषयकत्वेन तत्र स्वांशे ज्ञानांशे च प्रमात्वमिष्टं न सिध्येत्, स्मृतेरनुभवरूपत्वाभावात् इत्यव्याप्तिदोषोऽपि 'अनुभूतिः प्रमा' इति पक्ष इति विभावनीयम्।

बौद्धाभिमतं प्रमात्वम्, तत्परिशीलनं च

प्रमाणवार्तिके धर्मकीर्तिना[26] –

> 'प्रमाणमविसंवादि ज्ञानमर्थक्रियास्थितिः। अविसंवादनम्'

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23. प्र. पञ्चिका, पृ. 104. Edited by A. Subrahmanya Sastri, BHU Publication, 1961.
24. शा.दी.पृ. 45.
25. प्र. पञ्चिका, पृ. 104.
26. प्र.वा.परि. 1, श्लो. 3.

इत्यनेन ग्रन्थेन अविसंवादिज्ञानं प्रमेति प्रमायाः लक्षणमुक्तम् । ज्ञानस्य अविसंवादित्वं च अर्थक्रियासमर्थवस्तुप्रापकत्वम् । येन ज्ञानेन यथाभूतं वस्तु प्रदर्शितम्, प्रवृत्तोऽपि यदा तथाभूतमेव प्रतिलभते, तदा तदविसंवादिज्ञानं प्रमेत्युच्यते। तथाच वस्तुप्रापक-प्रवृत्तिजनकज्ञानत्वं प्रमाया लक्षणमिति अस्मात् ग्रन्थात् पर्यवस्यति ।

परं तु स्मृतावपि तादृशज्ञानत्वसद्भावादतिव्याप्तिरत्र लक्षणे दोषः परिस्फुरति। तद्वारणाय यद्यनधिगतार्थविषयकत्वं विशेषणं दीयते तदा धारावाहिकद्वितीयादि-ज्ञानेऽव्याप्तिः। किंच प्रत्यक्षज्ञानेनोपदर्शितस्य वस्तुनः क्षणिकत्वेनातिक्रान्तत्वात् तत्प्राप्तिर्न संभवतीति स्वप्रदर्शितवस्तुप्रापकत्वं प्रत्यक्षस्य कथं घटत इत्यनुपपत्तिरत्र मते स्फुरति। अपि च अर्थप्रापकज्ञानं प्रमा चेत् भूतभविष्यद्विषयकानुमितेः अर्थप्रापकत्वाभावात् अप्रमात्वं स्यात् । स्मरणस्यापि क्वचिदर्थप्रापकत्वात् अतिव्याप्तिः स्यात् । किं च मणि-प्रभायां मणिबुद्ध्या धावन् तत्र मणिं प्राप्नोति । मणिप्रभायां मणिबुद्धिश्चान्यथा-ज्ञानत्वादप्रमा । तत्राप्यर्थप्रापकत्वसद्भावात् प्रमात्वापत्तिरित्यपि दोषं मनसिकृत्य लक्षण-मेतदुपैक्षन्त नैयायिकाः । यथाहुः –

'मणिप्रदीपप्रभयोर्मणिबुद्ध्याभिधावतोः ।
मिथ्याज्ञानाविशेषेऽपि विशेषोऽर्थक्रियां प्रति ॥' इति ।

सांख्यमतं प्रमात्वं, तत्परिशीलनं च

'त्रिविधं प्रमाणमिष्टम्' इति सांख्यकारिकाव्याख्यानावसरे तत्त्वकौमुदीकाराः[27] – 'असंदिग्धाविपरीतानधिगतविषया चित्तवृत्तिः प्रमा' इति व्यवृण्वन् । असंदिग्धेत्यनेन संशयस्य, अविपरीतेत्यनेन भ्रमविकल्पयोः, अनधिगतेत्यनेन स्मृतेश्च व्युदासः। तथाच संशयविपर्ययविकल्पस्मृतिरूपचित्तवृत्तिभिन्ना चित्तवृत्तिः प्रमेति लक्षणं पर्यवस्यति। चित्तपरिणामरूपवृत्तेरप्रामाणिकत्वान्नैतल्लक्षणं युज्यते इति न्यायमञ्जर्यां निरूपितम् ।[28]

जैनाभिप्रेतं प्रमालक्षणम् ।

माणिक्यनन्द्याचार्यविरचिते परीक्षामुखसूत्रे[29] –
'स्वापूर्वार्थव्यवसायात्मकं ज्ञानं प्रमाणम्'

27. त.कौ. on कारिका. 4.
28. न्या.म.पृ. 24.
29. परीक्षामुखसूत्रम्, 1-1.

इति सूत्रेण अनधिगतार्थविषयकनिश्चयात्मकज्ञानत्वं प्रमाया लक्षणमावेदितम् । अत्रापि धारावाहिकज्ञानाद्यव्याप्तिर्वर्तते ।

अद्वैतिसंमतं प्रमात्वम्, तत्परामर्शश्च

वेदान्तपरिभाषायां[30] –

'स्मृतिव्यावृत्तं प्रमात्वमनधिगताबाधितार्थविषयकज्ञानत्वम् ।
स्मृतिसाधारणं तु अबाधितार्थविषयकज्ञानत्वम् ।'

इति प्रमात्वं निरब्रुवन् । धारावाहिकज्ञाने क्षणविशेषस्य पूर्वज्ञानागृहीतस्य विषयीकरणात् अनधिगतविषयकत्वमिति प्रत्यपादयन् । वस्तुतो धारावाहिकज्ञाने ज्ञानभेदो नाभ्युपगम्यते । किं तु यावद्घटस्फुरणमेकमेव ज्ञानम्, अतो न दोष इति समाधानान्तरमप्यवोचन् । नीरूपस्य क्षणस्य कथं चाक्षुषज्ञानविषयत्वमिति शङ्कायां, नीरूपस्य रूपस्येव कालस्यापि चाक्षुषत्वं संभवतीति समाधानमाहुः ।

परंतु द्रव्यनिष्ठलौकिकविषयतासंबन्धेन चाक्षुषं प्रत्येव रूपस्य कारणत्वं नैयायिका अङ्गीकुर्वन्ति । रूपं तु गुणः, अतस्तच्चाक्षुषे रूपं नापेक्षितम् । क्षणस्तु कालरूपो द्रव्यमिति तच्चाक्षुषे रूपस्य कारणत्वात् नीरूपः कालः प्रत्यक्षविषयो न भवितुमर्हतीति नैयायिककृताक्षेपस्य परिभाषाग्रन्थतस्तद्व्याख्यानतो वा समाधानं न लभ्यते ।*

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30. वे.प.पृ. 16.

*[अद्वैतिनामयमाशयः – यथा इदं नीलरूपमिति प्रत्यक्षानुभवबलात् नीरूपस्यापि रूपस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वं, तथा इदानीं घट इति प्रत्यक्षानुभवबलात् नीरूपस्यापि कालस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वमुररीक्रियते । किं च तद्द्रव्यप्रत्यक्षे तद्द्रव्यवृत्तिवस्तुसद्रूपमिव तत्रारोपितं रूपमपि तत्र तत्र कारणमिति "नीलं नभः" "नीलं तमः" "शंखः पीतः" इत्याद्यनुभवानुरोधेन कल्पनीयतया यत्किंचिद्रूपारोपेण कालस्यापि प्रत्यक्षत्वसंभवः । विशिष्टाद्वैतिनामपि कालप्रत्यक्षत्वमभिमतम् । अतएव यतीन्द्रमतदीपिकायां पञ्चमावतारे "कालस्य प्रत्यक्षत्वमेव ; तेन न तदनुमेयत्वप्रवादः" इति समर्थितम् ।

अन्यच्च – कालस्य अप्रत्यक्षत्वाभ्युपगमेऽपि वेदान्तपरिभाषोक्तप्रकृतप्रमालक्षणस्य धारावाहिकस्थले द्वितीयादिज्ञानादौ यथा नाव्याप्तिः तथा सम्यगुपपादितं स्वकीयपरिभाषाव्याख्यायां परिभाषाप्रकाशिकाभिख्यायां श्रीमदनन्तकृष्णशास्त्रिभिः सिद्धान्तलेशसंग्रहन्यायचन्द्रिकाद्युपदर्शितमार्गमनुसरद्भिः । इदमत्राकूतम् – प्रकृतलक्षणघटकमनधिगतार्थविषयकत्वविशेषणं ज्ञानस्य अज्ञाननिवर्तकत्वपर्यवसायि ; धारावाहिकस्थले द्वितीयादिज्ञाननिवर्त्यानि अज्ञानानि सन्त्येवेति ।

वस्तुतस्तु यथा स्मृतिव्यावृत्तं प्रमात्वमिति, तत्साधारणं प्रमात्वमिति च मतद्वयं नैयायिकानां (see above and below), तथैवाद्वैतिनामपि । अत एव अनधिगतत्वदलमपहायैव स्मृतिसाधारणं प्रमात्वमप्युपदर्शितं वेदान्तपरिभाषाकारैः । — श्री. शङ्करनारायणः]

विशिष्टाद्वैतवेदान्ते प्रमात्वनिर्वचनम् ।

रामानुजमतानुसारिणस्तु सर्वं विज्ञानं यथार्थमित्युररीकुर्वन्ति । शुक्तिरजतादिज्ञानमपि शुक्तिकायां रजतावयवानामपि सद्भावात् विद्यमानरजतविषयकतया यथार्थमेवेति वदन्ति । एवंरीत्या सर्वस्य ज्ञानस्य यथार्थत्वेऽपि प्रमा अप्रमा चेति ज्ञानस्य विभागं ते नापलपन्ति । तदुक्तं तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापे वेदान्तदेशिकैः –[31]

'सर्वं ज्ञानं न मानं परमतविजयान्नाप्रमाणं स्वबाधात्
मानामानव्यवस्था तदियमनुमता लौकिकैर्यौक्तिकैश्च' इति ।

तर्हि सर्वज्ञानयाथार्थ्यवादिनां भवतां मते प्रमाऽप्रमाविभागः किंनिमित्तकः ? के वा प्रमाऽप्रमयोर्लक्षणे ? इति शङ्कायां तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापे[32] –

'नाथैरुक्ता यथार्था विमतमतिरिति न्यायतत्त्वे तदेतत्
भाष्येऽनूक्तं तदत्र व्यवहृतिरुभयीं बाधिताऽबाधिताख्या ।'

इति समाहितम् । अयमस्याभिप्रायः – न्यायतत्त्वाख्ये ग्रन्थे नाथमुनिभिः शुक्तिरजतादिबुद्धिः यथार्थख्यातिरित्युक्ता । श्रीभाष्यकारैरपि नाथमुन्युक्तः पक्ष एव 'यथार्थं सर्वविज्ञानमिति वेदविदां मतम्' इति ग्रन्थेनानूदितः ।[33] तर्हि कथमस्मिन् पक्षे प्रमा अप्रमा चेति विभाग इति शङ्कायामाह – **व्यवहृतिरुभयी** इति । ज्ञानजन्या प्रवृत्तिर्द्विविधा बाध्या अबाध्या चेति । प्रवृत्तेः बाध्यत्वाबाध्यत्वे विफलत्वसफलत्वरूपे । तथा च बाध्यप्रवृत्तिजनकं ज्ञानमप्रमा, अबाध्यप्रवृत्तिजनकं ज्ञानं प्रमा इति लक्षणे फलतः । अन्यथाख्यातिवादिनः अख्यातिवादिनः यथार्थख्यातिवादिनः इति त्रयोऽपि भ्रमजन्यप्रवृत्तेः बाध्यत्वं प्रमाजन्यप्रवृत्तेरबाध्यत्वं चानुमन्यन्त इति मतत्रयसाधारणमेतल्लक्षणद्वयमिति देशिकचरणा अभिप्रयन्ति ।

परं त्वत्र मते मणिप्रभायां मणिबुद्ध्या प्रसारितहस्तः पुरुषो मणिं लभते । मणिप्रभायां मणिबुद्धिश्च भ्रमः । तथाच सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकत्वरूपस्य प्रमालक्षणस्य भ्रमेऽपि गतत्वादतिव्याप्तिरिति चोद्यमवसरं प्राप्नोति । तत्रेत्थं समाधातव्यम् । प्रवृत्तिसाफल्यं प्रति न मणिबुद्धिः कारणम् । अपितु मणेस्तत्र यादृच्छिकं सांनिध्यम् । अतो न दोष इति । एवमेव क्वचिद्यथार्थज्ञानानन्तरं प्रवर्तमानोऽपि विषयं न लभते, यथा

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31. त.मु.क.पृ. 179.
32. Ibid. पृ. 180.
33. श्रीभाष्यम् पृ. 83.

पक्षिणं दृष्ट्वा तं गृहीतुं प्रवर्तमानो न लभते। तथाच प्रमारूपस्यापि ज्ञानस्य बाध्य-प्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वादप्रमात्वं प्रसजतीति शङ्कायाम्, तत्रापि ज्ञानं न प्रवृत्तिवैफल्यप्रयोजकम्, अपि तु विषयस्य पक्षिणो दूरतोऽपक्रमणम्, अतो न दोष इति समाधातव्यम्। तदुक्तं सर्वार्थसिद्धौ तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापव्याख्याने[34] –

> 'बाध्यव्यवहारहेतुर्ज्ञानमप्रमाणं भ्रान्तिरित्युच्यते।
> तत्र मणिप्रभादिदर्शने मण्याद्यर्थप्रवृत्तौ तत्संवादोऽन्यायत्तः।
> अबाध्यव्यवहारहेतुर्ज्ञानं प्रमाणमभ्रान्तिरिति व्यवह्रियते। तत्र
> कदाचित् पक्षिबुद्बुदादौ प्रवृत्तिविसंवादो विषयापक्रमादेः' इति।

मध्वाचार्यप्रदर्शितम् प्रमालक्षणम्

प्रमाणलक्षणाख्ये ग्रन्थे[35] – 'यथार्थं प्रमाणम्' इति प्रमाणलक्षणं प्रत्यपादयन्मध्वाचार्याः। तट्टीकायां जयतीर्थश्रीचरणाः[36] –

> 'प्रमाणमिति लक्ष्यनिर्देशः। यथार्थमिति लक्षणोक्तिः। यथार्थं – यथावस्थितार्थविषयीकारि। अर्थविषयीकारित्वमात्रस्य संशयविपर्यय-साधारणत्वात्। यथावस्थितेति अर्थविशेषणम्'।

इति व्यवृण्वन्। इदं लक्षणं स्मृतावपि वर्तते, तस्या अपि यथावस्थितार्थविषयीकारित्वादित्यतिव्याप्तिः प्रसजतीति तु नाशङ्कनीयम्। 'स्मृतिः प्रत्यक्षमैतिह्यम्, अनुमान-श्चतुष्टयम्' इति वेदवाक्येन[37] स्मृतेरपि प्रमाणत्वाभिधानेन स्मृतिः प्रमाणलक्षणलक्ष्यभूतेत्यतिव्याप्तेरभावादिति मध्वाचार्याणामभिप्रायात्।*

स्मृतिसाधारणं प्रमात्वं नैयायिकसंमतम्

विश्वनाथपञ्चाननविरचितायां कारिकावल्यां प्रमायाः लक्षणद्वयमुक्तम् –

> 'भ्रमभिन्नं तु ज्ञानमत्रोच्यते प्रमा' (का० 134)
> 'अथवा तत्प्रकारं यज्ज्ञानं तद्वद्विशेष्यकम्। तत्प्रमा' (का० 135) इति।

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34. स.सि.पृ. १80.
35. प्र.ल.
36. प्र.ल.टी.
37. तैत्तिरीयारण्यकम्, I, ii, 1.

*[अत्र "स्मृतिः अनुमेयश्रुतिमूलं मन्वादिधर्मशास्त्रम्" इति सायणभाष्यम् – श्री. शङ्करनारायणः]

तत्र प्रथमं लक्षणं भ्रमभिन्नत्वे सति ज्ञानत्वमिति । अत्र च लक्षणे शुक्तिरजतयोरिमे रजते इति ज्ञानं रजते रजतविषयकत्वांशे प्रमा इति इष्यते । तत्र भ्रमभिन्नत्वं नास्तीति तदंशे प्रमात्वं न स्यादित्यनुपपत्तिं पर्यालोच्य द्वितीयं लक्षणं प्रोक्तम् । तच्च तद्वद्विशेष्यकत्वे सति तत्प्रकारकं ज्ञानं प्रमा इति ।

अत्र लक्षणद्वयेऽपि मणिकारप्रदर्शितमपि पन्थानमनादृत्य ज्ञानपदमेव निवेशितम्, नानुभवपदम् । तथाच यथार्थस्मृतौ लक्षणद्वयस्यापि सद्भावात् प्रमालक्षणस्यातिव्याप्तिः प्राप्नोतीति शङ्का समुत्पद्यते । अत्रेत्थं समाधानमाह मुक्तावल्याम्[38] – स्मृतेः प्रमात्वमिष्यत एव । अतस्तस्या अपि प्रमालक्षणलक्ष्यत्वान्नातिव्याप्तिः । यदि स्मृतेः प्रमात्वमभ्युपगम्यते तर्हि तत्कारणस्य पञ्चमप्रमाणत्वमापद्यत इति चेत् – मैवम् । प्रमाणलक्षणस्य अनुभवघटितत्वात् । यथार्थानुभवकरणं प्रमाणमिति प्रमाणलक्षणम् । स्मृतिकरणस्यानुभवकरणत्वं नास्तीति न प्रमाणत्वप्रसक्तिः इति ।

इदमपि कयाचन रीत्या युक्तमेव प्रतिभाति । न्यायसूत्रकारेण मिथ्याज्ञानविरोधिनि प्रमाज्ञाने 'तत्त्वज्ञानम्' इति स्मृतिसाधारणज्ञानपदस्यैव प्रयोगात् स्मृतेरपि प्रमात्वं तदभिमतमित्येवावगम्यते । तेनैव 'प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः प्रमाणानि' इति सूत्रे[39] स्मृतिकरणस्य प्रमाणमध्येऽपरिगणनात् अनुभवघटितमेव प्रमाणलक्षणं कर्तव्यमिति सूचितम् ।

एवमियता प्रबन्धेन प्रमालक्षणविषये प्राचीनानां नैयायिकानां मीमांसादिदर्शनान्तराचार्याणां च कीदृशः निरूपणप्रकाराः वर्तन्ते इति युक्तायुक्तविवेचनपूर्वकमपश्याम । अथ मणिकारः कथं मन्यते तत्र विषय इति परामृशामः ।

मणिकारदूषितानि प्रमालक्षणानि, तत्परिशीलनं च

पूर्वोक्तरीत्या प्राक्तनन्यायग्रन्थेषु शास्त्रान्तरीयग्रन्थेषु च अभिहितानि प्रमालक्षणानि, अन्यानि चानूद्य यथायथं दोषानभिधाय स्वयं कानिचिल्लक्षणानि प्रदर्शयाम्बभूव मणिकारः । तत्रानूदितानां बहूनां लक्षणानामाकरोऽस्माभिर्न ज्ञायते । नव्यन्यायरीत्या परिष्कृतानि कानिचित् लक्षणानि नापीत्यादिना अनूद्य अखण्डयत् । तेषु कानिचित् मणिकण्ठीयन्यायचिन्तामण्याख्यग्रन्थस्थानि भवेयुरिति तर्कयामः । मणिकण्ठो हि

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38. सि.मु.पृ. 481.
39. न्या.सू. (1-1-3).

गङ्गेशादीषत्प्राचीनः न्यायचिन्तामणिः न्यायरत्नं चेति द्वौ प्रबन्धौ प्राबध्नात्। न्यायरत्नं तावत् मद्रपुरीयहस्तलिखितप्राच्यपुस्तकभाण्डागारात् प्राकाश्यमनीयत। तत्र प्रायोऽनुमानापेक्षिता विषयाः प्रत्यपाद्यन्त। तत्रत्या अनेके परिष्काराः तत्त्वचिन्तामणावनुमानखण्डे नापीत्यादिना अनूदिताः खण्डिताश्च। अतः प्रत्यक्षखण्डस्थाः केचनपरिष्काराः मणिकण्ठीयन्यायचिन्तामणितः उद्धृताः स्युरिति अस्त्यूहितुमवकाशः। यतः स ग्रन्थोऽद्य यावन्न प्रकाशमुपगतः अतोऽत्र कमपि निर्णयं कर्तुं न पारयामः। अथवा स्वयमेव संभावितान् परिष्कारानूहित्वा वा, सभासु वादप्रसङ्गे पण्डितानां मुखान्निर्गतान् परिष्कारानूद्य वा खण्डयामासेति एतावदेव सांप्रतं वक्तुं शक्नुमः। अस्त्वेतत्। सांप्रतं मणौ खण्डितानि प्रमालक्षणानि पूर्वग्रन्थस्थानि पर्यालोचयामः। प्रायस्तानि पूर्वमेवास्माभिः आकरनिर्देशपूर्वकमनूद्य परामृष्टानि। मणिकारः कथं खण्डयति, तस्य औचित्यं कियदिति अधुना पश्यामः।

1. आदौ मणौ प्रमात्वजातिमत्त्वं प्रमाया लक्षणमिति मतमनूद्य खण्डितम्। इदं च मतं तात्पर्यटीकापरिशुद्धावुदयनाचार्या[40] एवमदूषयन् – यदि प्रमात्वं जातिः स्यात्, तर्हि प्रमात्वस्य ज्ञानगतस्य मनोमात्रग्राह्यत्वं भवेत्। ततश्च प्रमात्वमनुमेयमिति सिद्धान्तो व्याकुप्येत। किं च जातेर्व्याप्यवृत्तित्वनियमात् प्रमात्वं ज्ञाने सर्वांशेन समवेयात्। तथाच भ्रमे प्रमात्वमस्ति चेत् स प्रकारांशेऽपि प्रमा स्यात्। नास्ति चेत् धर्म्यंशेऽपि प्रमा न स्यात्। अपि च प्रमात्वं न जातिः, साक्षात्कारित्वादिना सांकर्यात्, प्रमात्वं विहाय साक्षात्कारित्वं भ्रमात्मकप्रत्यक्षे, साक्षात्कारित्वं विहाय प्रमात्वमनुमित्यादौ, उभयोः साक्षात्कारिप्रमायां समावेश इति। मणावप्येतान्येव दूषणानि भङ्ग्यन्तरेणोक्तानि, नाधिको विशेषः।[41]

2. यच्च मीमांसकादिभिः यथार्थमज्ञातविषयकं च ज्ञानं प्रमेत्युक्तम्, तदपि प्राचीनग्रन्थोक्तरीत्या धारावहिकद्वितीयज्ञानाद्यव्याप्त्यैव दूषितं मणावपि।[42]

3. यदपि कुसुमाञ्जलौ यथार्थानुभवः प्रमेत्युक्तं तदपि मणावेवं दूषितम्।[43] यथा अर्थः यस्य स यथार्थः, यथार्थश्चासावनुभवश्च यथार्थानुभवः। यथाशब्दः सादृश्यवाची। अत एव यथार्थशब्दस्य बहुव्रीहिसमासत्वम्। 'यथाऽसादृश्ये'

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40. ता.टी.प.पृ. 109.
41. त.चि.पृ. 409–415.
42. Ibid., पृ. 416.
43. Ibid., पृ. 419.

(पा.सू. 2-1-7) इति सूत्रेण असादृश्यार्थ एव यथाशब्दस्याव्ययीभावसमासविधानेन सादृश्येऽव्ययीभावसमासस्याप्राप्तेः। तथा च स्वसदृशार्थकोऽनुभव इति यथार्थानुभव-शब्दस्यार्थः संपद्यते। तत्रानुभवे अर्थसदृशत्वं केन आकारेण? न तावत् घटत्वादिना। ज्ञाने घटत्वाद्यभावेन घटत्वादिना घटादिरूपार्थसादृश्यस्य ज्ञानेऽसंभवात्। येन केनापि रूपेण सादृश्यं चेद्विवक्ष्यते, भ्रमेऽपि सत्तादिना अर्थसादृश्यमस्तीत्यतिव्याप्तिः स्यादिति।

अत्राह तर्कभाषाकारः[44] – अबाधितत्वेन रूपेणार्थसादृश्यम् अनुभवे विवक्षितम्। तथा च यथा सदृशः अबाधितः अर्थः यस्य सः यथार्थः, तादृशोऽनुभवः अबाधितार्थ-विषयकोऽनुभवः, प्रमेति यावत्। अतो न कोऽपि दोष इति।

वस्तुतस्तु – यथाभूतोऽर्थो यथावस्थितोऽर्थो वा यस्य स इति मध्यमस्य भूत-शब्दस्य अवस्थितशब्दस्य वा लोपवान् बहुव्रीहिसमासः यथार्थशब्दः। यथार्थ-श्चासावनुभवश्चेति विग्रहः। अत एव – 'यथावस्थितपदार्थाधिगतिः' इति न्याय-वार्तिकमपि[45] स्वरसतः संघटते। 'यथाभूतस्वार्था यतिनृपतिसूक्तिर्विजयते' इति निगमान्तदेशिकसूक्तिरपि[46] यथार्थशब्दस्योक्तव्युत्पत्तिं सूचयति। मणिकृदुक्तदूषणं तु स्थूलदृष्टयेत्यवधेयं सुधीभिः।

4. गुणजन्यानुभवत्वं दोषाभावजन्यानुभवत्वं वा न लक्षणम्। गुणदोषयो-रननुगतत्वात्। प्रमाजनकत्वेन गुणानाम्, भ्रमजनकत्वेन च दोषाणामनुगमे प्रमा-लक्षणज्ञाने तज्जनकत्वरूपगुणत्वज्ञानम्, गुणलक्षणज्ञाने च तज्जन्यत्वरूपप्रमात्वज्ञान-मित्यन्योन्याश्रयः।[47]

5. अबाधितानुभवः प्रमेत्यपि न युक्तम्। विपरीतप्रमा हि बाधः। तथा च विपरीतप्रमाऽविषयभूतार्थविषयकानुभवः प्रमा इति फलति। तत्र च प्रमात्वज्ञाने सत्येव विपरीतप्रमाज्ञानं, विपरीतप्रमाज्ञाने सत्येव तद्घटितप्रमात्वज्ञानम् इत्यन्योन्याश्रयो दोषः प्रसजतीति।[48]

6. बौद्धाद्यभिमतं संवादी अनुभवः प्रमेत्यपि नोपपद्यते। संवादित्वं हि नाम प्रमायां विषयो यथोल्लिख्यते, तथा ज्ञानान्तरेण तस्योल्लिख्यमानत्वम्। इदं च लक्षणं

44. त. भा. पृ. 28.
45. न्या. वा. पृ. 154.
46. यतिराजसप्तति, श्लो. 54.
47. त. चि. पृ. 419.
48. त. चि. पृ. 419.

भ्रमेऽपि गतम् । शुक्तिरजतज्ञानं हि यथोल्लिख्यते इदं रजतमिति, तथैव रजत-प्रमाप्युल्लिख्यत इति ।[49]

7. संवादीत्यस्य समर्थप्रवृत्तिजनक इत्यर्थं स्वीकृत्य सफलप्रवृत्तिजनकानुभवः प्रमेत्यपि लक्षणं कर्तुं न शक्यते । उपेक्षारूपायां प्रमायां प्रवृत्तिजनकत्वाभावेनाव्याप्त्यापत्तेः । न च समर्थप्रवृत्तिजननयोग्यत्वं प्रमात्वम्, उपेक्षात्मकप्रमायां प्रवृत्त्युपधायकत्वाभावेऽपि प्रवृत्तिजननयोग्यत्वमस्तीति नाव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । प्रवृत्तिजननयोग्यत्वं हि प्रवृत्तिजनकतावच्छेदकधर्मवत्त्वम् । स च धर्मः प्रमात्वमेवेत्यात्माश्रयदोषप्रसङ्गात् ।[50]

8. लक्षणावल्यादावुक्तम् 'तत्त्वानुभवः प्रमा' इति लक्षणमपि न समीचीनम् । तत्त्वशब्दो हि वस्तुवाची । तथा च वस्तुविषयकानुभवः प्रमेति फलितम् । वस्तुन एव सर्वेषु ज्ञानेषु भानमस्तीति भ्रमेऽपि लक्षणमेतदस्तीति अतिव्याप्तिरत्र लक्षणे दोषः ।[51] परंतु यथाश्रुत इदं दूषणम् ।

एतानि प्राचीनग्रन्थारूढानि लक्षणानि मणौ दूषितानि भवन्ति । इतः परमपि प्रायः पञ्चदश लक्षणानि 'नापि नापि' इत्यादिना मणावनूद्य दूषितानि । तेषामाकरो नोपलभ्यते ।

मणौ सिद्धान्तितानि प्रमालक्षणानि, तद्विमर्शश्च

मणौ सिद्धान्ततया कानिचन प्रमायाः लक्षणानि प्रादर्श्यन्त । तानि क्रमशोऽत्र पर्यालोचयामः ।

न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलौ चतुर्थस्तबके सूचितं 'यत्र यदस्ति तत्र तस्यानुभवः प्रमा' इति लक्षणं तथैव स्वीकृत्य पक्षान्तरेण तद्वति तत्प्रकारकानुभवो वा प्रमेत्युक्तं मणौ । द्वयोरनयोर्लक्षणयोः को भेद इति चेत् – अत्र आलोककाराः[52]

> 'यत्र धर्मिणि येन संबन्धेन यो धर्मोऽस्ति तत्र धर्मिणि तद्धर्म-
> प्रतियोगिकतत्संबन्धावगाह्यनुभवः प्रमेत्यर्थः' इति

प्रथमलक्षणं व्याख्याय,

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49. त. चि. पृ. 420.
50. त. चि. पृ. 420.
51. त. चि. पृ. 420.
52. त.चि.आ.पृ.

'तद्वद्विशेष्यकस्तत्प्रकारकोऽनुभवः प्रमेत्यर्थः' इति

द्वितीयलक्षणं व्यवृण्वन् । अतः संबन्धविषयकत्वं प्रथमलक्षणे, धर्मप्रकारकत्वं द्वितीय लक्षणे प्रविष्टमिति भेदः प्रतीयते । परंतु अर्थतो न कोऽपि भेदो दृश्यते विना शब्द विन्यासभेदम् ।

प्रकाशकृतस्तु[53] – 'प्रथमे तत्प्रकारकत्वं तद्वैशिष्ट्यविषयकत्वम्, द्वितीये तद्विशेषणज्ञानजन्यत्वमिति भेदः' इति प्रत्यपादयन् ।

मणिकारैरप्येतत्सूचितम्[54] –

'तत्प्रकारकत्वं च तद्वैशिष्ट्यविषयकत्वं तद्विशेषणज्ञानजन्यत्वं वा' इति

वस्तुतस्तु प्रथमलक्षणरीत्या निर्विकल्पके अव्याप्तिः । निर्विकल्पकस्य वैशिष्ट्य विषयकत्वाभावात् । द्वितीयलक्षणस्य ईश्वरज्ञानेऽव्याप्तिः, तस्य नित्यत्वेन तद्विशेषण ज्ञानजन्यत्वाभावादिति दोषः परिस्फुरति । मणौ[55] – 'ईश्वरस्य तद्विशिष्टविषयं ज्ञानं तद्विशेषणज्ञानजन्यम्' इत्यभ्यधायि । तेन तत्प्रकारकत्वं यदि तद्वैशिष्ट्यविषयकत्वं तदैव ईश्वरज्ञानं लक्ष्यम् । यदा तु तद्विशेषणज्ञानजन्यत्वं तत्प्रकारकत्वमित्याश्रीयते तदा ईश्वरज्ञानमलक्ष्यमेवेति सूचितम् । आहुश्च प्रकाशकृतः[56] –

'तथा च द्वितीयलक्षणे तदीयप्रमा न संग्राह्येति भावः' इति ।

निर्विकल्पके तु प्रकारताविरहात् तत्प्रकारकत्वघटितं प्रमालक्षणं न विद्यते तथा तद्विशेषणज्ञानजन्यत्वमपि प्रमालक्षणं न तत्रास्ति । अतएव प्रकारताघटितम् अप्रमालक्षणं न तत्रास्ति । एवं च प्रमाप्रमाविलक्षणं ज्ञानं निर्विकल्पकमिति मणिकाराः आशेरते ।

वस्तुतस्तु 'तदभाववद्विशेष्यकतत्प्रकारकज्ञानभिन्नोऽनुभवः प्रमा' इति लक्षणे कृते निर्विकल्पकमपि प्रमात्वेन संगृहीतं भवति । अत एव मणौ[57] – 'तदन्यत्वे (अप्रमान्यत्वे) सत्यनुभवत्वमेव वा प्रमात्वम्' इति लक्षणान्तरमपि प्रत्यपादि । तत्र च

53. त.चि.प्र.पृ. 436.
54. त.चि.पृ. 438.
55. त.चि.पृ. 441.
56. त.चि.प्र.पृ. 442.
57. त.चि.पृ. 438.

प्रकाशकृतः[58] – 'निर्विकल्पकसाधारणं लक्षणान्तरमाह – "तदन्यत्र इति" इत्यवतारयामासुः पूर्वोक्तं मणिग्रन्थम् ।

1. भ्रमे धर्म्यंशे प्रमात्वमपि यत्र यदस्ति तत्प्रकारकत्वमित्यनेन संगृहीतमेव । यत्तच्छब्दघटनया लक्षणाननुगमस्तु नात्रावसरं लभते । लक्ष्यानुगमे सति हि लक्षणाननुगमो दोषाय कल्पते । प्रमारूपं लक्ष्यं त्वननुगतम् । अतस्तदनुसारेण लक्षणमप्यननुगतमिति

2. निर्विकल्पकसाधारणमन्यदपि लक्षणमुक्तं मणौ[59] –

'विषयताश्रयावृत्त्यप्रकारकानुभवः प्रमा' इति ।

विषयता च मुख्यविषयता विशेष्यतेत्यर्थः । विशेष्यताश्रये यो न वर्तते तत्प्रकारकत्वाभाववाननुभवः प्रमेति तदर्थः । 'अयं घट' इति प्रमायां विशेष्यताश्रये वर्तमानावेव इदंत्वघटत्वाख्यधर्मौ प्रकारौ तदवृत्तिधर्मः पटत्वादिर्न तत्र प्रकार इति समन्वयः । 'इदं रजतम्' इति भ्रमे तु विशेष्यावृत्तेः रजतत्वस्य प्रकारत्वात् विशेष्यावृत्तिप्रकारकत्वमेवास्ति न तदप्रकारकत्वमिति नातिव्याप्तिः । भ्रमांऽशप्रमायां च रजतत्वांशे विषयताश्रयावृत्तिप्रकारकत्वम्, इदंत्वांशे विषयताश्रयावृत्तिप्रकारकत्वाभावश्च वर्तते । अभावस्य व्याप्यावृत्तित्वाभ्युपगमात् । अतो भ्रमस्य धर्म्यंशे प्रमात्वम्, प्रकारांशे अप्रमात्वं चोपपद्यते ।

अत्रेदं विचार्यते । अस्मिन् लक्षणे 'गगने गगनत्वम्' इति प्रमायां गगनं प्रकारः । तच्च अवृत्तिपदार्थतया विषयताश्रयावृत्ति । तथा च विषयताश्रयावृत्तिगगनप्रकारकत्वमेवोक्तप्रमायामस्तीत्यव्याप्तिः प्राप्नोति । न च विषयताश्रयावृत्तिसंबन्धप्रतियोग्यप्रकारकत्वं विवक्षितम् । गगनत्वे गगनस्यावृत्तित्वेऽपि गगनसंबन्धस्य वर्त्तमानतया विषयताश्रयगगनत्वावृत्तिः संबन्धः, घटादिसंबन्धः, तत्प्रतियोगि घटादि, तदप्रकारकत्वं 'गगने गगनत्वम्' इति प्रमायामस्त्येवेति नाव्याप्तिरिति वाच्यम् । एवमपि 'सर्वं प्रमेयं' इति प्रमायां सर्वस्यापि विषयत्वेन विषयताश्रयावृत्तिसंबन्धस्याप्रसिद्ध्या अव्याप्तितादवस्थ्यादिति । अतो लक्षणमेतन्न युक्तमिति प्रकाशकाराः ।[60]

अत्र प्रवदन्ति न्यायशिखामणिकाराः[61] – स्वविषयताश्रयावृत्तिसंबन्धप्रतियोगिप्रकारकभिन्नानुभवः प्रमेति विवक्षितम् । स्वपदं भेदप्रतियोगिपरम् । यत्र ज्ञाने

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58. त.चि.प्र.पृ. 438.
59. त.चि.पृ. 454.
60. त.चि.प्र.पृ. 454.
61. न्या.शि.पृ. 454.

स्वविषयताश्रयावृत्तिसंबन्धप्रतियोगिप्रकारत्वं प्रसिद्धम् तत्परमिति यावत् । 'इदं रजतम्' इति भ्रमे स्वविषयताश्रयशुक्त्यवृत्तिर्यः संबन्धः रजतत्वसंबन्धः तत्प्रतियोगिरजतत्वप्रकारकत्वं प्रसिद्धम् । तदन्यत्वं च 'सर्वं प्रमेयम्' इति प्रमायां सुलभमिति न कोऽपि लक्षणेऽस्मिन् दोष इति ।

3. यत्प्रकारिका या विषयता तत्प्रकारसमानाधिकरणविषयताकानुभवः स्वप्रकारसमानाधिकरणविषयताकोऽनुभवो वा प्रमेति लक्षणान्तरद्वयमपि संभवति ।[62] उभयत्रापि विषयतापदं विशेष्यतापरम् । 'अयं घटः' इति प्रमायां घटत्वरूपप्रकाराधिकरणघटनिष्ठविशेष्यताकत्वमस्तीति प्रथमलक्षणस्य द्वितीयलक्षणस्य च समन्वयः । 'इदं रजतम्' इति भ्रमे प्रकारभूतरजतत्वाधिकरणवृत्तित्वं शुक्तिनिष्ठविशेष्यतायां नास्तीति नातिव्याप्तिः ।

परं तु निर्विकल्पके प्रकारघटितं लक्षणद्वयमपि नास्तीत्यव्याप्तिरत्र प्राप्नोति । सा च निर्विकल्पकस्य प्रमाऽप्रमाबहिर्भूतत्वेनालक्ष्यत्वं स्वीकृत्यैव वारणीया ।

4. विशेष्यनिष्ठात्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिप्रकारकविषयताप्रतियोगी अनुभवः प्रमेत्यपरं लक्षणम् ।[63] 'अयं घटः' इति प्रमायां विशेष्यो घटः तन्निष्ठात्यन्ताभावः न घटत्वात्यन्ताभावः, अपि तु पटत्वाद्यत्यन्ताभावः तदप्रतियोगि घटत्वम्, तत्प्रकारिका विषयता घटनिष्ठा विशेष्यता तन्निरूपकत्वमस्तीति समन्वयः ।

अत्रेदं समालोचनीयम् – एवमपि 'गगने गगनत्वं' इति प्रमायामव्याप्तिः । विशेष्ये गगनत्वे विद्यमानो यः गगनात्यन्ताभावः तत्प्रतियोगिगगनप्रकारकत्वस्यैवोक्तप्रमायां सत्त्वात् । अतः विशेष्यनिष्ठात्यन्ताभावाप्रतियोगिसंबन्धप्रतियोगिप्रकारकविषयतानिरूपकोऽनुभवः प्रमेति विवक्षणीयम् । विशेष्ये गगनत्वे गगनाभावेऽपि गगनसंबन्धस्य सत्त्वेन विशेष्यनिष्ठोऽत्यन्ताभावः गगनसंबन्धाभावो न भवति, अपि तु घटादिसंबन्धाभावः तदप्रतियोगी गगनसंबन्धः तत्प्रतियोगिगगनप्रकारकविषयतानिरूपकत्वं 'गगने गगनत्वम्' इति प्रमायामस्तीति नाव्याप्तिः । एवमत्यन्ताभावे प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्यं विशेषणं देयम् । अन्यथा 'वृक्षः कपिसंयोगवान्' इति प्रमायामव्याप्तेरिति ।

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62. त.चि.पृ. 454.

63. त.चि.पृ. 455.

5. विशेष्यनिष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिप्रकारानवच्छिन्नविषयत्वप्रतीयोगी अनुभवः प्रमा इत्यपि लक्षणं संभवति ।[64] 'अयं घटः' इति प्रमायां या इदन्त्वावच्छिन्ना विशेष्यता तस्यां विशेष्यनिष्ठात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिपटत्वाद्यनवच्छिन्नत्वमस्तीति लक्षण-समन्वयः । अत्रापि 'गगने गगनत्वम्' इति प्रमायामव्याप्तिवारणाय विशेष्यनिष्ठात्यन्ता-भावप्रतियोगिसंबन्धप्रतियोगिप्रकारानवच्छिन्नविषयतानिरूपकत्वमिति परिष्करणीयम् । तथा 'वृक्षः कपिसंयोगवान्' इति प्रमायामव्याप्तिवारणाय अत्यन्ताभावे प्रतियोगिवैयधि-करण्यं निवेशनीयम् । निर्विकल्पकसाधारणमेतल्लक्षणम् ।

6. विषयतासमानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिप्रकारकविषयत्वानिरूपकोऽनुभवः प्रमा इत्यपि लक्षणम् ।[65] इदमपि निर्विकल्पकसाधारणम् । अत्रापि पूर्ववत्परिष्कर-णीयम् ।

7. विषयतासमानाधिकरणात्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिप्रकारानवच्छिन्नविषयतानिरूप-कोऽनुभवो वा प्रमा ।[66] 'अयं घटः' इति प्रमायां विषयताधिकरणं पुरोवर्ती घटः तन्निष्ठोऽत्यन्ताभावः पटत्वाद्यभावः तत्प्रतियोगि पटत्वम्, तदनवच्छिन्ना पुरोवर्तिनिष्ठा विषयता तन्निरूपकत्वमस्तीति समन्वयः ।

सर्वेष्वेतेषु लक्षणेषु पूर्वपक्षग्रन्थोक्तः 'इमौ घटपटौ' इति समूहालम्बनप्रमाया-मव्याप्तिरूपो दोष एवं परिहर्तव्यः । घटत्वावच्छिन्नायां विषयतायां स्वसमानाधिकरणा-त्यन्ताभावप्रतियोगिपटत्वानवच्छिन्नत्वम्, पटत्वावच्छिन्नायां विषयतायां च तादृश-घटत्वानवच्छिन्नत्वं वर्तत इति तादृशविषयताद्वयनिरूपकत्वमुक्तप्रमायामक्षतमिति । तदुक्तम् –

'समूहालम्बने च विषयताभेदान्न प्रमाऽप्रमालक्षणे अव्याप्त्यतिव्याप्ती' इति ।[66]

स्वव्यधिकरणप्रकारावच्छिन्ना या या विषयता तत्तदनिरूपकत्वं प्रमात्वम् इत्यादयः परिष्काराः नवीनतरेषु ग्रन्थेषु प्रकाशिताः, क्रोडपत्रादिना सुदूरं विस्तृताश्चेति अधुना एतावता विरम्यते ।

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64. त.चि.पृ. 455.
65. त.चि.पृ. 455.
66. त.चि.पृ. 455.

संकेतः	ग्रन्थनाम	संपादकनाम	प्रकाशस्थानम्	वर्षः
(त.कौ.)	तत्त्वकौमुदी		निर्णयसागर्प्रेस्, बाम्बे	1940
(त.चि.)	तत्त्वचिन्तामणिः	रामानुजताताचार्यः	केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठम्, तिरुपति	1973
(त.चि.आ.)	तत्त्वचिन्तामण्यालोकः	उमेशमिश्रः	मिथिला इन्स्टिट्यूट्	1957
(त.चि.प्र.)	तत्त्वचिन्तामणिप्रकाशः	रामानुजताताचार्यः	के.एस्.वि. पीठम्, तिरुपति	1973
(त.मु.क.)	तत्त्वमुक्ताकलापः	अण्णङ्गराचार्यः	काञ्ची	1941
(त.भा.)	तर्कभाषा	रामकृष्णभण्डारकरः	आर्यभूषण प्रेस्, पुना	1937
(ता.टी.)	तात्पर्यटीका	अनन्तलाल्ठाकुर्	मिथिला इन्स्टिट्यूट्	1967
(ता.टी.प.)	तात्पर्यटीकापरिशुद्धिः	Do	Do	Do
(तै.आ.)	तैत्तिरीयारण्यकम्	टि.आर्. कृष्णमाचार्यः	बाम्बे	——
(न्या.कु.)	न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः	वीरराघवाचार्यः	तिरुपति	1940
(न्या.कु.प्र.)	न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिप्रकाशः	——	चौरवम्बा	——
(न्या.भा.)	न्यायभाष्यम्	अनन्तलाल्ठाकुर्	मिथिला इन्स्टिट्यूट्	1967
(न्या.भू.)	न्यायभूषणम्	स्वामियोगीन्द्रानन्दः	वाराणसी	1968
(न्या.म.)	न्यायमञ्जरी	सूर्यनारायण शुक्लः	चौखम्बा	1936
(न्या.वा.)	न्यायवार्तिकम्	अनन्तलाल्ठाकुर्	मिथिला इन्स्टिट्यूट्	1967
(न्या.सा.)	न्यायसारः	स्वामियोगीन्द्रानन्दः	वाराणसी	1968
(न्या.सू.)	न्यायसूत्रम्	——	——	——
——	परीक्षामुखसूत्रम्		निर्णयसागरप्रेस्, बाम्बे	1940
(प्र.प.)	प्रकरणपञ्चिका	ए. सुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री	बेनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटि	1961

संकेतः	ग्रन्थनाम	संपादकनाम	प्रकाशस्थानम्	वर्षम्
(प्र.ल.)	प्रमाणलक्षणम्	टि.आर्. कृष्णमाचार्यः	बाम्बे	——
(प्र.ल.टी.)	प्रमाणलक्षणटीका	Do	Do	——
(प्र.वा.)	प्रमाणवार्त्तिकम्	राहुल सांकृत्यायनः	जयस्वाल् रीसर्च इन्स्टिट्यूट्, पाट्ना	1953
(लक्षणा.)	लक्षणावली	शशिनाथझा	मिथिला इन्स्टिट्यूट्	1963
(वे.प.)	वेदान्तपरिभाषा	स्वामी गोविन्दसिंहः	वेङ्कटेश्वर स्टीम् प्रेस्, बाम्बे	1928
(शा.दी.)	शास्त्रदीपिका	अनन्तकृष्ण शास्त्री	निर्णयसागर् प्रेस्, बाम्बे	1918
——	श्रीभाष्यम्	चे. नरसिंहाचार्यः	आनन्दमुद्रणालय, मद्रास्	1936
(श्लो.वा.)	श्लोकवार्तिकम्	रामनाथशास्त्री	मद्रास् यूनिवर्सिटी	1940
(स.प.)	सप्तपदार्थी	अमरेन्द्रमोहनतर्कतीर्थः	कल्कत्ता	1934
(स.सि.)	सर्वार्थसिद्धिः	अण्णङ्गराचार्यः	काञ्ची	1941
(सि.मु.)	सिद्धान्तमुक्तावली	शङ्कररामशास्त्री	बालमनोरमा प्रेस्, मद्रास्	1929

एन्.सि.वि. नरसिंहाचार्यः

निकषोपलः

'साकूतमधुरकोमलविलासिनीकण्ठकूजितप्राये ।
शिक्षासमयेऽपि मुदे रतलीला कालिदासोक्ती ॥'

इयम् आचार्यगोवर्धनस्य सूक्तिर्विदितचरैव विश्वेषां विदुषाम् । कविकुलतिलकस्य कालिदासस्य अनितरसाधारणी मृद्वीका मृदुमधुरा वाणी काव्यशिक्षासमयेऽपि अध्येतृभ्यः आनन्दपरीवाहं प्रसारयतीति अयमाचार्यः मुक्तकण्ठं सङ्गिरते । अत्र न कस्यापि संशयलेशो भवेदिति प्रत्येमि ।

उच्चावचसन्दर्भानुरोधेन मनुजेषूत्पद्यमानानां नानारूपाणां मानसिकभावविशेषाणां, तेषां परिणामप्रकारणाञ्च ऋजुबोधने कृतमुखता, दुर्बोधानां, दुरधिगमानाम् अत्युदाराशयानाम् उपदेशलोभं विहाय केवलमनुभवपर्यवसायिनामेव उत्तमाशयानां भावानाञ्च बोधने कुशलता, आबालगोपालमखिलान्प्रति अतिगभीराणामपि भावानामनायासेन अवबोधने विदग्धता, उपमादिभिरलङ्कारैः स्वफणितिप्रतिकर्मणि नैपुणी, ललितमधुरवचनसौभ्रात्रसंपादनचातुरी, नर्मोक्तिनिर्माणमर्मज्ञता, वचसामुदारता इत्यादयः सहृदयसमाराधनैकधुरीणाः परश्शताः गुणाः काव्यमामूलचूलमभिव्याप्य समुल्लसन्तः कालिदासीयानि काव्यानि लोकोत्तरयन्ति । एतदीयानि काव्यानि मानवप्रकृतिप्रतिबिम्बानि भवन्ति । अत एव इमानि अतिमात्रजनप्रियाणि सम्पद्यन्ते ।

संस्कृतमधिजिगांसुस्सर्वोऽपि प्रथमतः रघुवंशमहाकाव्यमेव हस्ते धत्ते । तदनु कुमारसंभवं पश्चात् मेघदूतञ्च उपादत्ते । इमानि त्रीणि काव्यानि कालिदासलघुत्रयीनाम्ना व्यवह्रियन्ते । किरातार्जुनीयम्, शिशुपालवधम्, नैषधीयचरितञ्चेति एतत्त्रितयं 'बृहत्त्रयी' नाम्ना व्यपदिशन्ति मनीषिणः संस्कृताध्ययनप्रसिताः ।

अनेन चेदं विदितं, यदुत, सत्स्वपि शतशः संस्कृतभाषामयेषु अन्यदीय-काव्येषु कालिदासरचितानामेव काव्यानां प्रथमाध्येयत्वेन निर्धारणे निदानम् आचार्य-गोवर्धनोक्तरीत्या शिक्षासमयेऽपि महानन्दसन्धायकत्वमेवेति निर्णेतव्यं भवति। तादृशं तत्र सौलभ्यम्।

इदानीं पूर्वोक्तलघुत्रय्यामपि लब्धप्राथम्यस्य रघुवंशस्य प्राथमिकं श्लोकमुपादाय तत्रत्यं स्वारस्यं, व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषम् अन्यान् कांश्चन प्रासङ्गिकान् विषयान् निरूपयितुं कुतुकी अहं यथामति यावद्विदितं निवेदयितुकामः एतद्रचनाधाष्टर्यम् अवलम्बे। एतस्य श्लोकस्य उद्धरणे विशिष्टनानार्थस्फूर्तिरेकैव कारणं न भवति, अपि तु एतच्छ्लोकविषये तत्र तत्र प्रचारपथं नीता काचन शङ्का, तस्याः प्रत्युक्तिर्देया इति सङ्कल्पश्च हेतुः।

'वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ॥'

अत्र वन्दे इति पदं परिशीलनार्हम्। 'वदि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः' इति धातुपाठः। अतोऽस्य धातोः स्तुतिर्नमस्कृतिश्चाऽर्थः। यद्यपि अभिवन्दनं नाम आशीर्वादः। तथाऽपि शब्दस्वाभाव्यात् प्रयोगस्वारस्याच्च आशीर्वादलाभकारणभूते प्रणामे अभिवादनशब्दोऽयं प्रयुक्तः।[1] अत्र यदि केवलं प्रणामरूपोऽर्थः अभिसंहितः स्यात् तदा कायिक्या चेष्टया, मानसिकेन सङ्कल्पेन वा स कर्तुं शक्येत। तदानीं वाग्व्यापाररूपस्यास्य श्लोकस्य अवतारे औचित्यं कल्पनीयं स्यात्। अतोऽत्र द्वावप्यर्थौ विवक्षितौ भवताम्। तदा मानसिकं कायिकं वा, उभयविधं वा प्रणामं विधाय कविः श्लोकात्मना स्तोत्रमपि विदधाति स्मेति भावः सङ्गच्छते। वन्दिशब्दस्य स्तुतिपाठकरूपार्थबोधकत्वमप्यत्र स्मर्यताम्।

उपरिष्टात्प्रस्तुतः श्लोकः असार इति, श्लोकशलुच्छान्दसरचित इति, अत-एवाऽयं अकालिदासकर्तृक इति, अर्वाचीनेन केनाऽपि पश्चात् संयोजित इति च मन्वानाः केचन श्लोकममुं नाद्रियन्ते।

कालिदासकृतिषु त्रिषु काव्येषु अन्यतमः कुमारसंभवः 'अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः' इति, मेघसंदेशः 'कश्चित्कान्ताविरह........ यक्षश्चक्रे........वसतिं रामगिर्याश्रमेषु' इति च काव्यारम्भसमादृतेषु मार्गेषु त्रिष्वन्यतमेन

1. एतद्धात्वर्थविवरणे बालमनोरमा सिद्धान्तकौमुदीव्याख्या दृश्यताम्।

वस्तुनिर्देशेनैव आरब्धौ। तथैव रघुवंशेनापि वस्तुनिर्देशारब्धेन भवितव्यम्। एवं स्थिते कदाचित् नमस्कारात्मकमङ्गलारम्भञ्चेदिदं काव्यं प्रशस्यं भविष्यतीति मन्यमानः कश्चिदर्वाचीनः श्लोकममुमत्राऽयूयुजत् इति तेषामाशयः। तर्हि कुमारसंभवमेघदूतयोरपि ईदृशी घटना कुतो नाऽकारीति संशय उदियात्। स च एवं तैस्समाधीयेत। 'प्रायशः संस्कृताध्ययनं रघुवंशेनैव समारभ्यते। ततः उपक्रमे एव मङ्गलाचरणं विना प्रवर्तमानमध्ययनम् अध्यापनं वा शुभोदर्कं न भवेदिति कश्चिदध्यापको वा अपरिणतव्युत्पत्तिकः कश्चित्पुरोहितो वा स्वयं विरचय्य कालिदासकाव्ये स्वं श्लोकाभासं समजीघटदिति, ए ं रघुवंशस्यैव अयं योगस्समपद्यत' इति।

परन्तु अन्यदीय इति, विरस इति अयं श्लोकः किं निरसनीय एवेति, 'भोजनं देहि राजेन्द्र घृतसूपसमन्वितम्' इत्यादिपद्यवत् किं विगानीय इति किञ्चिद्विमिमृशामि।

पार्वतीपरमेश्वराविति समुचितेष्टदेवतानमस्क्रियामाचरति कविः। नमस्कारस्त्रेधा स्थूलविभागमर्हति – इष्टदेवतानमस्कार इति, प्रकृतदेवतानमस्कार इति, उचितदेवतानमस्कार इति च। अत्रायं न केवलमिष्टदेवतानमस्कारः अपि तु उचितदेवतानमस्कारोऽपि भवति। यदि कश्चित् कविः कृष्णचरितमुपनिबद्धुमुपक्रममाणः वासुदेवमेव नमति, स प्रकृतदेवतानमस्कारः। रामचरितमुपनिबध्नन् यदि महेश्वरं नमस्यति तदा स इष्टदेवतानमस्कारः भवति। अन्यः कश्चित्कविः औचित्यानुरोधेन काञ्चनदेवतामभिवन्दते, तर्हि उचितदेवतानमस्कारो भवति। अत्रेयं देवता अभिमता नेति निषेधे न तात्पर्यम्। औचित्ये कविर्विशिष्य दत्तदृष्टिरिति निरूपणे एव मेऽभिसन्धिः।

भट्टबाणे दिवं याते कादम्बरीकथाप्रबन्धः विच्छेदमाप। तदसमाप्तिकृतं सतां दुःखं विलोक्य तत्पुत्रो मनोजवसः भूषणभट्टः तच्छेषपूरणाय उदयुङ्क्त। कृतस्सङ्कल्पः। देवतानुग्रह एवावलम्ब इति मन्यमानः नारीनरात्मिकां पारमेश्वरीं मूर्तिमभिध्यायति, वन्दते च। तस्य प्राप्तकालताञ्च स्वयमेवं विशदीकरोति।

'देहद्वयार्धघटनारचितं शरीरमेकं ययोरनुपलक्षितसन्धिभेदम्।
वन्दे सुदुर्घटकथापरिशेषसिद्ध्यै सृष्टेर्गुरू गिरिसुतापरमेश्वरौ तौ।' इति

अविभाव्यमानसुघटितनारीनरात्मकमूर्तिसमाराधनसमासादितनिरवग्रहानुग्रहेण पित्रा स्वयं च निर्मितयोः सुदुर्घटयोरपि कथांशयोः सुश्लिष्टता भवतीति भूषणभट्टस्य सुदृढो विश्वासः। अत्र उचितदेवतानमस्कारः स्पष्टः।

वागर्थाविवेत्यत्र कविः पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ वन्दते। कुतः? वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये। किमत्रौचित्यम्?

कविः काव्यं निर्मित्सति। काव्यञ्च शब्दार्थरूपम्। अतस्तदनुगुणशब्दार्थस्फूर्तिः कवीबुभूषोः सर्वस्याप्यपेक्षिता। अतश्शब्दार्थप्रतिपत्तिमेवाऽयं प्रणतिफलत्वेनाभिलषति।

अस्तु। शब्दार्थप्रतिपत्तये कतमा देवतावन्द्यताम्? कस्सन्देहः? 'पितरौ' इति कविरेवोदाजहार। मातापितारावेव शब्दार्थज्ञानं स्वापत्येषूत्पादयतः। ततः प्रत्यक्षदेवते पितरौ विहाय देवतान्तरभजनलाघवमविवेकः। एवञ्चिलोपदिशन्ति वृद्धाः —

'शक्तिग्रहं व्याकरणोपमानकोशाप्तवाक्याव्यवहारतश्च।
वाक्यस्य शेषाद्विवृतेर्वदन्ति सान्निध्यतः सिद्धपदस्य वृद्धाः॥'

शब्दार्थसम्बन्धबोधकज्ञानरूपशक्तिग्रहसिद्धिनिदानानि सङ्गृह्णन्तः आप्तवाक्यादपि तादृशं ज्ञानं सम्भवतीति तेऽचकथन्। आप्तेषु प्रथमगणनीयौ पितरौ। अतश्च पितरौ वन्दे इति कथने औचित्यमस्ति।

अन्यदप्यत्र रहस्यमस्ति। अदसीयदृश्यकाव्यत्रयीनान्दीपद्यानि कटाक्षयन्तु सुधियः। तानि महेश्वरभक्तिसुरभीणि भवन्ति। तत्र पार्वत्याः प्रामुख्यं नास्ति। अत्र केवलमकाण्डे सा भक्तिः समुदजृम्भतेव। अत्र दम्पती समांशभाजौ तत्वेदं तत्त्वम्। तत्र तत्र अभिलषितं फलमन्यत्। अत्र केवलं शब्दार्थव्युत्पत्तिरूपं फलमवृणीत कालिदासः। अत्र पित्रोरेव प्राधान्यम्। तत्रापि मातुरेव प्रथमं स्थानम्। शिशूनां प्रथमोपाध्याया जननी। अतश्चात्र माता समानीय सभाजिता।

तर्हि गृहावस्थितौ प्रसूजनयितारौ सोऽभिवन्दताम्। आम्, कर्तुं शक्यते। परन्तु तावन्मात्रव्युत्पत्त्या कविर्न तृप्यति। ततोऽभ्यधिकामपेक्षते।

'नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम्।
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति॥'

(काव्यप्रकाशः I – 1)

इत्युक्तदिशा ब्रह्मसृष्टेरभ्यधिकां रसवत्तरां दोषलेशास्पृष्टां काव्यसृष्टिं चिकीर्षतोऽस्य कवेः कृत्स्नस्य जगतो विधात्रोः पार्वतीपरमेश्वरयोराराधनमेव कर्तव्यम्। लौकिकपितृभ्या-

मासादिता व्युत्पत्तिः लौकिकव्यवहारमात्रपर्याप्ता। कव्यपेक्षिता तु अलौकिकी अपरिमेया च।

'यानेव शब्दान्वयमालपामो यानेवचार्थान्वयमुल्लिखामः।
तैरेव विन्यासविशेषरम्यैः सम्मोहयन्ते कवयो जगन्ति॥'
(नीलकण्ठदीक्षितस्य)

'अर्थोऽस्ति चेन्न पदशुद्धिरथाऽस्ति साऽपि
नो रीतिरस्ति यदि सा घटना कुतस्त्या?।
साऽप्यस्ति चेदपि न वक्रगतिस्तदेतत्
व्यर्थं विना रसमहो गहनं कवित्वम्॥' (मङ्खकस्य श्रीकण्ठचरिते)

इत्युक्तया विधया सुदुर्लभायाः काव्यरचनायाः कृते भूयान् वाङ्मयाधिकारः अपेक्ष्यते। तत्र कियतामेवाऽपत्यानां जनयितारौ पितरौ अनधिकारिणौ। सकल-लोकहेतू पितरावेव शरण्यौ भवतः। ताभ्यां सृष्टस्य अस्य जगतस्सम्बन्धिनः सर्वे विषयाः सरहस्याः तदनुग्रहैकसुज्ञानाः। सर्वलोकसर्वकालसम्बन्धिशब्दार्थसिद्धिः तत एव सम्भवति।

साम्प्रतिकपितृभ्यां साम्प्रतिकं परिमितञ्च शब्दार्थज्ञानमेव भवति। किं तदलम्? कविना क्रान्तदर्शिना भवितव्यम्। त्रैकालिकज्ञानं प्रज्ञा चेत्, सैव नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी प्रतिभा सम्पद्यते। तादृशप्रतिभावान् एव कविः भवितुमर्हति। तावती शक्तिः पार्वतीपरमेश्वरकृपैकलभ्या। तादृशफलमभिवाञ्छन्नेव महाकविः 'वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ' इत्याद्यवोचत्।

'औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः' इति जैमिनिसूत्रम्।

अत्र औत्पत्तिकशब्दो नित्यवचन इति 'औत्पत्तिक इति नित्यं ब्रूमः' इति वदन् शबरस्वामी निरूपयामास। ततः शब्दार्थसम्बन्धः अनादिसिद्ध इति फलति। तादृग्विध एव उमाशङ्करयोस्सम्बन्धो नित्यः। तावपि नित्यावेव। अतस्तादृशनित्य-संबद्धशब्दार्थव्युत्पत्तिः आदिदम्पत्योरनुग्रहैकायत्ता। ईदृगर्थलाभ उपमालङ्कार-प्रभावादेव सम्भवति। 'उपमा कालिदासस्य' इति खलु सहृदयगोष्ठीगीयमान आभाणकः।

अयमपरो विशेषः। स्वकीये प्रथमकाव्ये प्रथमश्लोके प्रथमपादे[2] प्रथमपदे एव एतादृशीमुपमामुपनिबध्नतः कवेश्चातुर्यं अनितरसुलभम्। इतोऽपि किञ्चिदग्रे गच्छामः।

'शब्दजात(शास्त्र)मशेषन्तु धत्ते शर्वस्य वल्लभा।
अर्थरूपं यदखिलं धत्ते मुग्धेन्दुशेखरः॥' (वायुपुराणम्)

इत्यस्य श्लोकस्य परिशीलने उमामहेश्वरौ शब्दार्थाविव नित्यसम्बद्धावित्येव न, अपितु तावुभौ तत्स्वरूपावेवेति ज्ञायते। अतस्तत्स्वरूपाभ्यां तत्सिद्धिप्रार्थना समञ्जसतरा।

जगदिदं नामरूपात्मकम्। तादृशजगद्विधातारौ नामरूपात्मकौ। अर्थात् शब्दार्थावेव। भङ्ग्यन्तरेण तावेव शब्दार्थयोर्जनयितारौ इत्यपि सिध्यति। अतोऽत्र वागर्थसिद्धये तयोस्सेवनमपरिहार्यं भवति।

पुनरपरोऽत्र विशेषः। लोकेऽस्मिन् रक्षाशिक्षादिषु अश्रद्धधानौ अशक्तावपि पितरौ दृश्येते। 'प्रजानां विनयाधानात् रक्षणाद्भरणादपि। स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः॥ (रघुवंशः I, 24) इति कालिदास एवामुमाशयमाविश्चकार। पार्वती-परमेश्वरौ तादृशौ न भवतः। रक्षादिसकलकर्मनिर्वहणनित्यप्रसितौ वात्सल्यमूर्ती भवतः। अमुमभिसन्धिं मनसि निधायैव कालिदासः जनकौ इत्याद्यनुक्त्वा पितरा-वित्यब्रवीत्। पालनादिकर्तैव पितेति पितृशब्दस्य निर्वचनं 'प्रजानां विनयाधानात्' इति श्लोके उभलभ्यते। 'स पिता यस्तु पोषकः' इत्यभियुक्तोक्तिः। पातीति पितेति व्याख्यासुधा[3]ऽपि निर्वक्ति। ईदृशो भावः कवेरभिसंहितो भवेत्।

अन्यदपि स्वारस्यम्। अत्र पितरौ इति पदस्य माता पिता च अर्थः। 'पिता मात्रा' इति सूत्रप्रवृत्त्या अत्र एकशेषः। तथाच मातृशब्दो विलुप्यते। पितृशब्दस्तु शिष्यते। 'यश्शिष्यते स लुप्यमानार्थाभिधायी' इति न्यायेन पितृशब्द एव मातर-मपि बोधयति। एवञ्च पितृशब्दोऽत्र लक्षणया पितृत्वमजहदेव मातरं बोधयति। 'गङ्गायां घोष' इत्यत्र गङ्गात्वेन तीरबोध इव अत्र पितृत्वेन मातृबोधो भवति। अतः 'माति गर्भोऽस्याम्' इति व्युत्पत्त्या गर्भधारणरूपमर्थं विना पोषणकार्ये भर्त्रा सह समानधुरां वहति माता इत्यर्थः फलति। 'पितरौ' इति द्वन्द्वैकशेषः नारीनरात्मकत्वस्य व्यञ्जकः।

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2. वागर्थाविवेत्येकं पदम् – 'इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च' इति मल्लिनाथव्याख्या।
3. 'नप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृहोतृपोतृभ्रातृजामातृपितृदुहितृ' इत्युणादिसूत्रेण (II. 95) इदं पदं निपात्यते।

अयं श्लोकः इष्टदेवतावन्दनपरः। तादृगिष्टदेवतासमाराधनायैव कुमारसंभं विरचय्य कविर्धन्यो बभूव। तत्र स्थितं 'तमर्थमिव भारत्या सुतया योक्तुमर्हसि' इति श्लोकार्धं स्मारयामि। परमेश्वरप्रहिताः सप्तर्षयो विवाहनिश्चयाय हिमवन्तमासेदुः। 'भवदीयां कन्यां सर्वमङ्गलां महादेवाय भवान् ददातु' इति सर्वेषां प्रतिनिधीभूय अङ्गिराः प्रार्थयत। तस्मिन् सन्दर्भे श्लोकोऽयमस्ति। 'भारत्याः (वाचः) वा, अर्थस्य वा वियुज्य अवस्थानं अनुचितम्। ताभ्यां संयुक्ताभ्यामेव भवितव्यम्। तथाऽनुतिष्ठतु भवान्' इति दिव्यर्षिर्जगाद।

अत्र पुनश्चमत्कारः। पार्वती वागात्मिका। वाचं विना त्रैलोक्यमपि निरालोकम् अन्धकारबन्धुरं भवेत्। तमेव भावमाचार्यदण्डी –

'इदमन्धं तमः कृत्स्नं जायेत भुवनत्रयम्।
यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिरासंसारान्न दीप्यते ॥' (काव्यादर्शः)

इत्युदैरिरत्। तमो व्यपोहितुं सदसती च विवेक्तुमीशः प्रदीपमिव वाचं लोकहितायाऽदात्। सा वागेवाऽत्र पार्वती। वाचः अर्थप्रकाशकत्वादेव ज्योतीरूपता। ज्योतिषः पदार्थप्रकाशकता ननु लोकसिद्धा। तादृशशक्तियुक्तमेव ज्योतिः[4] ज्योतिश्शब्दवाच्यं भवति। या च अर्थावबोधनक्षमा सैव वाक्शब्देन व्यवहारयोग्या भवति। सत्येव प्रकाश्ये प्रकाशकस्य प्रकाशकता सिध्यति। अर्थस्थानीयस्य परमेश्वरस्य प्रकाशः वाक्स्थानीयया पार्वत्या[5] सम्पद्यते। अर्थप्रकाशकं तादृशं ज्योतिर्यदि लोकमुद्द्योतितं न विदधीत, अर्थात् पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ संयुज्य विश्वश्रयसे सेनान्यं कुमारं यदि न प्रसादीकुर्यातां, तर्हि तारकासुरोपप्लुतं इदं भुवनत्रयं सदैव अन्धतमसमलीमसं जायेत। अतः हे नगाधिराज, स्वां दुहितरं महादेवाय प्रतिपाद्य महत्पुण्यमुपचिनु इत्युपदिशतीवाऽङ्गिराः। सत्स्वपि बहुषु सम्बन्धिबोधकपदेषु संयुक्तसंश्लिष्टादिषु 'वागर्थाविव सम्पृक्तौ' विति सम्पृक्तपदप्रयोगविवेकः कालिदासैकसाध्यः। अनया रीत्या भाव्यमानेऽस्मिन् श्लोके बहवो विशेषा भासेरन्।

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4. द्योतयतीति ज्योतिः। द्योतते अनेन इति वा। 'द्युतेरिसिन्नादेशश्च जः' Ref. वार्तिक under Pāṇini II. i. 10.

5. 'शिवश्शक्त्या युक्तो यदि भवति शक्तः प्रभवितुम्' 'भवानि त्वत्पाणिग्रहणपरिपाटीफलमिदं' (शङ्कराचार्यः), 'अप्रमेयं हि तत्तेजः यस्य सा जनकात्मजा' (वाल्मीकिः), 'यद्भ्रूभङ्गाः प्रमाणं' (पराशरभः), 'मा जानकि चेट्ट बट्टगा' (त्यागराजः) इत्यादीनि वचनानि अत्र मननमर्हन्ति।

अन्यच्च। वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये इत्यत्र प्रतिपत्तिशब्दः बह्वर्थसम्पुष्टः। तन्त्रेण प्रयुक्तोऽयं शब्दः युगपत् षडर्थान् बोधयितुं क्षमो भवति। 'प्रतिपत्तिस्तु गौरवे, प्राप्तौ प्रवृत्तौ प्रागल्भ्ये प्रतिभाज्ञानयोरपि' इति केशवस्वामिवचनप्रामाण्येन सर्वेऽप्यर्थाः अत्र सन्दर्भोचिता इति अङ्गीकरणीया एव। (1) माधुर्यौदार्यादिगुणसमृद्ध्या सहृदयहृदयाराधनद्वारा लभ्यं बहुमानं गौरवम्। (2) सङ्कल्पितस्यार्थस्य पर्यन्तगमनेन कृतकृत्यता प्राप्तिः। (3) स्वयमेव संघटनारूढिः प्रवृत्तिः। (4) दोषपरिहरणक्षमो निरशङ्कविश्वास एव प्रागल्भ्यम्। (5) प्रत्यग्रनानाभावावेशः, तदपेक्षिता रसोल्लसितशब्दार्थसङ्घटनानुकूला उपस्थितिः प्रतिभा। (6) संशयलेशनिर्मृष्टं तत्त्वसंवेदनं ज्ञानम्। [रघुवंशीयश्लोकमेनं व्याख्यान् नारायणः विषयममुमसूसुचत्, अरुणगिरिनाथस्तु तं व्यपूपुलत्] एवमपेक्षितां षड्विधामपि सामग्रीं कुशलः कविः एकेनैव पदेन प्रार्थयामास।

एवं बह्वर्थव्यञ्जकत्वेन उत्तमकाव्यगणनार्हेऽत्र पद्ये अकालिदासीयत्वशङ्का केवलमपचाराय भवति।

किञ्च वागर्थाविवेति पद्यं प्राचीनैर्बहुभिः कालिदासीयमित्यभिमन्यमानैः स्वे स्वे ग्रन्थे उदाहारि। अप्पय्यदीक्षितोऽपि चित्रमीमांसायां उपमाप्रकरणे उपमामुख्याङ्गेषु अन्यतमस्य साधारणधर्मस्य उपपादकप्रकारान् वस्तुप्रतिवस्तुभावादीन् बहून्निर्दिश्य, तत्र पूर्णायां धर्मस्यानुगामित्वं यथा इत्यारभ्य इमं श्लोकमुदाहार्षीत्। तत्र व्यङ्ग्यार्थविशेषं शङ्कापरिहारञ्च कुर्वन्[6] स्वप्रतिभामदर्शयत्।

क्षेमेन्द्रोऽपि कविकण्ठाभरणे कवीभवितुमिच्छतां कञ्चनोपदेशं करोति। वागर्थाविवेत्यादिश्लोकमादाय तत्रैव शब्दमात्रपरिवृत्त्या तावदर्थबोधने प्रयत्नोऽपि कश्चिद्रचनाभ्यासविशेष[7] इति। एतत्पद्यस्य अनुकरणीयत्वमुक्तवतः क्षेमेन्द्रस्य अत्र

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6. 'औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धः' इति वागर्थयोर्नित्यसम्बन्धित्वं प्रसिद्धम्। उमामहेश्वरयोरप्यनयोः न पृथग्भावः चन्द्रचन्द्रिकयोरिवेति तत्प्रसिद्धम्। तथा च नित्यसंबन्धित्वरूपोऽत्र साधारणधर्मः अनुगामितया निर्दिष्टः। यद्यप्युमामहेश्वरयोर्वागर्थवन्नित्यसम्बन्धित्ववर्णनेन तयोर्निरतिशयपरस्परप्रेमशालित्वं, महनीयत्वम् इत्यादि व्यज्यते, तथापि न ध्वनिगुणीभूतव्यङ्ग्यव्यवहारः। न खलु व्यङ्ग्यसंस्पर्शप्रतिभासादेवाऽत्र चारुताप्रतीतिः, किन्तु वाच्यवैचित्र्यप्रतिभासादपीति प्रायस्तत्र सम्भवद्रसादिकं व्यङ्ग्यमलङ्कारञ्च अगणयित्वैव तत्तदलङ्कारा उदाह्रियन्ते।

7. अल्पप्रयत्नसाध्यः, कृच्छ्रसाध्यः, असाध्यश्चेति काव्यक्रियायामुपदेश्यान् त्रीन् शिष्यान् आख्याय, तत्र द्वितीयं प्रति शिक्षां प्रस्तुत्य 'पठेत्समस्तान् किल कालिदासकृत-

श्लोके समादरः कालिदासीयत्वनिश्चयश्च व्यक्तौ। गरुडवाहनपण्डितः क्षेमेन्द्रवचनसत्यापनायेव स्वकीये दिव्यसूरिचरिते विमृश्यमानममुं श्लोकमनुकुर्वन्

'प्रभार्काविव सम्पृक्तौ भवभीतिनिवृत्तये।
रक्षितारौ त्रिजगतां लक्ष्मीनारायणौ भजे' ॥

इति मङ्गलश्लोकं वितन्वन् श्लोकेऽस्मिन् आदरं समदर्शयत्। व्याख्यातृभिर्मल्लिनाथादिभिः, ततः प्राचीनैरपि अरुणगिरिनाथप्रभृतिभिः सादरमयं श्लोकः सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः। अतोऽत्र पद्ये नवीनताबुद्धिः, विरसताबुद्धिः अकालिदासीयताबुद्धिश्च अहैतुकी।

श्रव्यकाव्यान्तरेषु देवताभिवन्दनाभावादेव अत्रापि तदभावेन भवितव्यमिति वाचो युक्तिररमणीया। अत्र वन्दनसद्भावस्य साधकप्रमाणमस्ति। कालिदासीयेषु रघुवंशः प्राथमिकं काव्यमिति बहवो विमर्शका आशेरते। अहमप्येतत्प्रत्येमि। अतः आपरितोषाद्विदुषां बलवत् शिक्षितस्यापि कवेश्चेतः आत्मन्यप्रत्ययं भवेत्खलु। अतः शालीनताकृतया भीत्या, रचनायां प्रवृत्तोऽयं 'सर्वस्या अपि भीतेः दैवीं करुणां सुभेषजं मत्वा' देवतानुग्रहसम्पादनार्थं तदभिवन्दनाय प्रववृते प्रेक्षावदग्रणीः। तत्पूर्वतया रचनोपक्रमे प्रवृत्तस्य एषा भीतिः अनुभवपरिपाटीविरुद्धा न भवति। मल्लिनाथोऽपि कुमारसंभवात्प्राक् रघुवंशं व्याख्यदिति तद्ग्रन्थपरिशीलनेन ज्ञायते। अतः काव्यव्याख्यानेषु रघुवंशव्याख्या प्राथमिकीति प्रत्येतुमवकाशोऽस्ति। अत एवाऽयम् एतद्ग्रन्थव्याख्यारम्भे इष्टदेवतानमस्कारमङ्गलादिकम् अनुष्ठाय तावता अतृप्तः प्रतिसर्गम् आदौ तत्पौनःपुन्येन करोति। ग्रन्थान्तरव्याख्याने एषा रीतिर्नास्ति। रघुवंशव्याख्याने देवतास्तुतिप्रणतिपराः श्लोकाः एकविंशतिर्विद्यन्ते।

अपि च रघुवंश एव कालिदासस्य अभिमततमो ग्रन्थ इति स एव व्यञ्जयति।

'गुर्वर्थमर्थी श्रुतपारदृश्वा रघोस्सकाशादनवाप्य कामम्।
गतो वदान्यान्तरमित्ययं मे मा भूत्परीवादनवावतारः ॥'

(रघु. V-24)

प्रबन्धान्' इत्यारभ्य, 'अभ्यासहेतोः पदसन्निवेशैः वाक्यार्थशून्यैः विदधीत वृत्तम्। श्लोकं परावृत्तिपदैः पुराणं यथास्थितार्थं परिपूरयेच्च ॥' इति द्विविधमभ्यासं निर्दिश्य, परावृत्तिपदैर्यथा इत्युपक्रम्य, 'वागर्था' विवेति पूर्वश्लोकं विलिख्य; 'वाण्यर्थाविव संयुक्तौ वाण्यर्थप्रतिपत्तये। जगतो जनकौ वन्दे शर्वाणीशशिशेखरौ' ॥ इति पदपरावृत्तिं समदीदृशत् (I-21).

सकलधर्मसारमञ्जूषिका रघुवंशकाव्यम्। निखिलान्यपि प्रयोजनानि रघुवंशादनधिगम्य कश्चिदभीष्टलाभाय काव्यान्तरमाशिश्रिये इति परीवादनवावतारो मा मे भूदिति आशास्ते कविकुलगुरुः। पुनरन्यत्र 'तदेष सर्गः करुणार्द्रचित्तैर्न मे भवद्भिः प्रतिषेधनीयः' इति कृत्स्नस्य रघुवंशकाव्यस्य अध्ययनाय पर्याप्तावकाशाभावे सीताविवासवृत्तान्तगर्भं रसघनं चतुर्दशं सर्गं वाऽन्ततः सर्वस्सहृदयः अवश्यमधीतामिति, कारुणिकः ध्वन्यध्वनि सतताध्वन्यो महाकविस्सम्प्रार्थयते इव। संस्कृताध्ययनलोलुपैस्सर्वैरपि व्युत्पित्सुभिः काव्यकामधेनुः वैदिकधर्मरहस्यसेवधिः रघुवंश आरम्भे एवाध्येतव्य इति कवेरुपदेशः। तथैव ते ध्रुवं करिष्यन्तीति च स विस्रम्भते।

तेषामेषां सर्वेषां समीचीनशब्दार्थपरिज्ञानरूपा सुदृढा व्युत्पत्तिर्भवत्विति वागार्थाविवेति श्लोकं व्यरचत्। सर्वेऽपि काव्यमारभमाणः बुद्धिपूर्वकमबुद्धिपूर्वकं वा अमुं श्लोकमनुसन्दधीरन्। शब्दार्थप्रतिपत्तये पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ वन्दे इति अर्थानुसन्धानमपि नान्तरीयकतया कुर्वीरन्निति, तेषां तत्फलमनुसंदधत् स्वयं तं श्लोकं बबन्ध। रुग्णस्तनन्धयः हितमपि भेषजमप्रियमिति स्वारसिकप्रवृत्त्या नोपादत्ते। तदा वत्सला माता स्वयमौषधं निषेव्य क्षीरद्वारा शिशोरुल्लाघतां सम्पादयति। तथैव कविर्वत्सलः स्वयं देवताभिवन्दनं वितन्वन्, 'शिश्वर्थमातृभेषजसेवनन्यायेन' अध्येतृभ्यस्तत्फलं दापयति। स तु वस्तुतः पूर्णः, सिद्धः, अपरो वाल्मीकिमहर्षिः। तेनाऽभिलषणीयं न किञ्चिदवशिष्यते। एतत्सर्वमस्मादृशानामुपकाराय। मानसिकनमस्क्रियामात्रेण अतृप्यद्भिः कविभिः ग्रन्थरूपेण तद्विधाने अस्मद्विषयकवात्सल्यमन्तरा अन्यो हेतुर्नास्ति। व्याख्यातारश्च मङ्गलश्लोकं व्याचक्षाणाः एवमवतारयन्ति – 'अयं कविरिष्टदेवतानमस्कारात्मकं मङ्गलं शिष्यशिक्षायै ग्रन्थतो निबध्नाति' इति।

एतावता इयत्सिद्धम्। वागर्थाविवेत्यादिश्लोके कल्पतराविव इयतोऽर्थान् (भावान्, प्रयोजनानि च) वितरति सति, तं कालिदासादाच्छिद्य अन्यस्मै अर्पणम् अन्याय्यम्। कुमारसम्भवाद्यपेक्षया रघुवंशनिर्माणाय अपेक्षिता सामग्री अति विस्तृता। अवधानमास्थेयमतिवेलम्। कथाविस्तारः इतिवृत्तसन्दर्भः विषयवैविध्यञ्च असाधारणानि। अतस्तत्साधनाय अन्यत्र अकृतस्यापि वन्दनस्य अत्र करणे औचित्यं सुमहदस्ति। दैवानुग्रहं विना सङ्कल्पमिदं दुस्साधं कर्म न घटते।

अन्योऽपि कश्चिदंशः परिशीलनमर्हति। वागर्थेतिश्लोकः रघुवंशप्रारम्भे नास्तीति मन्यताम्। तदा ग्रन्थारम्भः किंरूपो भवेत्? आशीर्नमस्क्रिया वा

नास्त्येव। अन्यकाव्यद्वये इव वस्तुनिर्देशात्मक इति वक्तव्यम्। चतुर्थः प्रकारो नाऽस्ति] एतत्तु न संगच्छते। 'क सूर्यप्रभवो वंश' इत्यारभ्य 'तं सन्तः श्रोतुमर्हन्ति' इति श्लोकपर्यन्ताः श्लोकाः नव। एषु कस्यचिदप्यन्यतमस्य वस्तुनिर्देशात्मकता न युज्यते। एते सर्वेऽपि काव्योपोद्घातरूपाः। गत्यन्तराभावात्

'वैवस्वतो मनुर्नाम माननीयो मनीषिणाम्।
आसीन्महीक्षितामाद्यः प्रणवश्छन्दसामिव ॥'

इत्येकादशे श्लोके वस्तुनिर्देशोऽक्रियतेति वचनं किं युक्तरूपम्? सति तु वागर्थाविवेति श्लोके न काऽपि बाधा भवेत्।

अन्यच्च कालिदासीयाद्यकाव्यस्थमिदमाद्यं पद्यं पार्वतीपरमेश्वरनमस्कारात्मकं तदीयान्तिमकाव्यात्मकशाकुन्तलान्तिमपद्येन नीललोहित(पार्वतीपरमेश्वर)प्रार्थनात्मकपद्येन संवादं सम्यगश्नुते। अतः श्लोकोऽयं कालिदासरचित इति निश्चेतव्यम्।

निकषोपले सुवर्णं निकष्य कषरेखया कीदृशं सुवर्णं, कियद्वर्णं वा तदिति परीक्ष्य निर्णीयते। तथैव समीक्षानिकषोपले परीक्ष्याऽमुं श्लोकसुवर्णं सर्वथा सुवर्णमेवेति निरचैषम्। सहृदयाः प्रमाणम्।

[उद्यानपत्रिकातः एकद्वा विषयाः स्व्यकारिषत। कृतज्ञोऽस्मि]

एस्. वि. रघुनाथाचार्यः

दिङ्नागोक्तहेत्वाभासविमर्शः*

हेतुर्लिङ्गमपदेशः साधनमित्यनर्थान्तरम् । हिनोति गमयति बलात् अप्रत्यक्षमर्थं साध्यरूपमिति हेतुः ।[1]

"उदाहरणसाधर्म्यात् साध्यसाधनं हेतुः" [१-१-३४]
"तथा वैधर्म्यात्" [१-१-३५]

इति हि गौतमसूत्रे । अभाषि तावद्वात्स्यायनेनाप्यत्रैवम् –

"उदाहरणेन सामान्यात्साध्यस्य धर्मस्य साधनं प्रज्ञापनं हेतुः । साध्ये प्रतिसन्धाय धर्ममुदाहरणे च प्रतिसन्धाय तस्य साधनतावचनं हेतुः । उत्पत्तिधर्मकत्वात् इति । उत्पत्तिधर्मकमनित्यं दृष्टमिति" ।

"उदाहरणवैधर्म्याच्च साध्यसाधनं हेतुः । कथम्? अनित्यः शब्दः उत्पत्तिधर्मकत्वात्, अनुत्पत्तिधर्मकं नित्यं दृष्टमात्मादय इति"

इति ।[2] हेतुरयं साध्योदाहरणाभ्यां प्रतिसंहितः । किं नामेदमत्र प्रतिसन्धानम्? साध्ये व्यापकत्वमुदाहरणे च सम्भव इति वार्तिककारः भारद्वाजोद्योतकरः सप्तमशतक-

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* शोधपत्रमिदं अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य (AIOC) अष्टाविंशेऽधिवेशने धार्वारिनगरस्थ कर्णाटकविश्वविद्यालये समायोजितायां पण्डितपरिषदि १२-११-७६ दिनाङ्के पठितम्

1. जिनवर्धनी – पृ. ३१
2. न्यायभाष्यम् – न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिका. पृ. ५२६

वासी ।[3] उदाह्रियतेऽस्मिन् साध्यसाधनयोः अविनाभावः इत्युदाहरणं दृष्टान्तः। एवञ्च उदाहरणसाधर्म्यात् तथा उदाहरणवैधर्म्याच्च साध्यसाधकं लिङ्गमिति पर्यवसन्नम्। अत एव प्रमाणमञ्जरीकारस्योक्तिः अन्वर्था यत् –

"लिङ्गं पुनः साध्याव्यभिचारित्वे सति
पक्षधर्मतावत्"

इति ।[4]

तच्चेदं लिङ्गं अन्वयव्यतिरेकि-केवलान्वयि-केवलव्यतिरेकिभेदेन त्रिविधम्। लिङ्गस्य बलमत्र पञ्चरूपोपपन्नत्वं विवक्षितम्। तानि च पञ्च रूपाणि पक्षधर्मत्वं, सपक्षे सत्त्वं, विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः, अबाधितविषयत्वं, असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वं चेति। असूचि चैवं दशमशतकवासिना न्यायमञ्जरीकारेण जयन्तभट्टेनापि ।[5] स्वार्थपरार्थभेदेन लिङ्गस्य द्वैविध्यमुपपाद्य, द्विविधस्यापि लिङ्गस्याङ्गानि पञ्चैवं प्रतिपादितानि दशमशतकवासिना शिवादित्येन सप्तपदार्थ्याम्। यथा –

"उभयाङ्गानि पक्षधर्मत्वं, सपक्षे सत्त्वं, विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः, अबाधितविषयत्वं, असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वं चेति" इति ।[6] एवमेव तर्कामृतेऽपि तर्कालङ्कारोपाधिधारिणा जगदीशेन सप्तदशशतकवासिना हेताववश्यं पञ्चरूपोपपन्नता अपेक्षणीयेति प्रत्यपादि ।[7]

तदनन्तरकालिकः तर्ककौमुदीकारः सप्तदशशतकवासी लौगाक्षिभास्करः स्पष्टीचकार विषयमेनमेवम्। यथा –

"त्रयाणां मध्ये योऽन्वयव्यतिरेकी, स पञ्चरूपोपपन्न एव स्वसाध्यं साधयति। तानि पञ्च रूपाणि – पक्षधर्मत्वं, सपक्षे सत्त्वं, विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः, अबाधितविषयत्वं, असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वं चेति" इति ।[8]

पक्षधर्मत्वं हि पक्षताश्रयवृत्तित्वम्। निश्चितसाध्यवति सपक्षे विद्यमानत्वं सपक्षसत्त्वम्। निश्चितसाध्याभाववति विपक्षे अविद्यमानत्वं विपक्षाद्व्यावृत्तिः।

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3. न्यायवार्त्तिकम् – न्या.च. पृ. ५२७
4. प्रमाणमञ्जरी – पृ. ९
5. न्यायमञ्जरी – पृ. १३४
6. सप्तपदार्थी – Vol. II पृ. ३२
7. तर्कामृतम् – पृ. १८
8. तर्ककौमुदी – पृ. ११

अबाधितविषयता च प्रत्यक्षादिना अप्रमितसाध्याभावकत्वं, असत्प्रतिपक्षता च साध्याभावसाधकहेत्वन्तरराहित्यम्। एतानि च पञ्चरूपाणि "पर्वतो वह्निमान् धूमात्" इत्याद्यन्वयव्यतिरेकिहेतावेव सम्भवन्ति। केवलान्वयिनि विपक्षाव्यावृत्तिरित्येतत् न सम्भवति। तत्र विपक्षस्यैवाप्रसिद्धेः। तथैव केवलव्यतिरेकिणि सपक्षे सत्त्वं न शक्यवचनम्। तत्र सपक्षस्यैव अप्रसिद्धेः।

उक्तपूर्वग्रन्थसन्दर्भसंवादेनेदं तत्त्वमत्रावधार्यते। यत् पक्षसत्त्व–सपक्षसत्त्व–विपक्षासत्त्व – अबाधितत्व – असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वरूप – पञ्चरूपोपपन्नत्वं सद्धेतोः अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणः लक्षणमिति; विपक्षासत्त्ववर्जरूपचतुष्टयं केवलान्वयिनः; सपक्षसत्त्ववर्जं रूपचतुष्टयं केवलव्यतिरेकिणश्च लक्षणे इति।[9] उद्दिष्टेषु रूपेषु यस्य कस्य चन एकस्य लोपेऽपि नायं सद्धेतुव्यपदेशमर्हति। न च प्रभविष्णुः साध्यसाधने। किन्तु साध्यसाधनविकलः असद्धेतुरिति निगद्यते। कणादेनायमेवानपदेशपदेन स्पष्टयकारि।[10] अस्यैवासद्धेतोः हेत्वाभासशब्दः नामान्तरम्।

अथ कोसौ हेत्वाभासः? आभासत इत्याभासः। भ्रमो ह्याभास इत्युच्यते। परार्थानुमाने 'सोऽयं परमो न्याय' इति वात्स्यायनादिभिः प्रस्तुते[11] पञ्चावयववाक्ये विलसन्त्यवयवाः पञ्च प्रतिज्ञा-हेतु-उदाहरण-उपनय-निगमनभेदभिन्नाः। तत्सादृश्यप्रकारकभ्रमविषयाः प्रतिज्ञाभास – हेत्वाभास – उदाहरणाभास – उपनयाभास-निगमनाभासाः दार्शनिकैस्तत्रतत्र स्वीयनिबन्धेषु सविभागं समुपदर्शिताः।[12] यद्यपि हेत्वाभासः पञ्चस्वेतेषु द्वितीयः; अथापि जागर्ति तावदस्याद्वितीयं स्थानमितरापेक्षया। तन्मूलकत्वादनुमानप्रमाणस्य। अतस्सत्यपीतरेषां विचारे तत्त्वनिर्णयविजयप्रयोजकतया प्रादर्शि दार्शनिकैरतितराम् आदरो हेत्वाभासनिरूपणे। तच्च निरूपणं प्रतिदर्शनं विविधेष्वंशेषु भिद्यमानं दरीदृश्यते।

हेत्वाभासशब्दार्थः

हेत्वाभासपदमिदं द्विधा व्युत्पादितं शास्त्रकारैः। अहेतवः हेतुवदाभासन्त इति हेत्वाभासाः, दुष्टहेतव इति प्रथमः कल्पः। लक्षणैकदेशयोगादपि हेतुवदाभासन-

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9. तर्कामृ – पृ. १८
10. वैशेषिकदर्शनम् – पृ. ९५
11. न्यायभाष्यम् – पृ. ४
12. न्यायपरिशुद्धिः – पृ. १३०

1	1. पक्षधर्मत्वे	आश्रयासिद्धः स्वरूपासिद्धः	असिद्धः प्रतिबन्धकः
	2. सपक्षसत्त्वे	असाधारणः अनुपसंहारी	सव्यभिचारः — प्रतिबन्धकः
	3. विपक्षासत्त्वे	व्याप्यत्वासिद्धः विरुद्धः साधारणः	प्रतिबन्धकः ,, ,,
	4. अबाधितविषयत्वे	बाधः	,,
	5. असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वे	सत्प्रतिपक्षः	,,
2	1. सपक्षसत्त्वम् 2. पक्षसत्त्वम् 3. विपक्षासत्त्वम् 4. अबाधितत्वम् 5. असत्प्रतिपक्षत्वम्		अन्वयव्यतिरेकिणः
3	केवलव्यतिरेकिणः न सपक्षः	असाधारणः अनुपसंहारी	च न भवतः
4	केवलान्वयिनः न विपक्षः	व्याप्यत्वासिद्धः विरुद्धः साधारणः	च न भवन्ति

महेतोरप्युपपद्यते ।[13] सकललक्षणापायेऽपि पञ्चमीनिर्देशादिः भ्रमनिमित्तमित्यपि वदन्ति केचित् ।

हेतोराभासाः हेत्वाभासाः हेतुगता दोषविशेषा इति द्वितीयः कल्पः । प्रथमकल्पे वत्प्रत्ययस्य "तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः" [अष्टाध्यायी – ५–१–११५] इति सादृश्यमर्थः । आङ्पूर्वकभासधातोः आभास इत्यर्थः । आभासो हि भ्रम इति-प्रागवोचाम । हेतुपदं सद्धेतुपरम् । सद्धेतुसादृश्यप्रकारकभ्रमविषयः हेत्वाभास इत्यर्थ-लाभः । द्वितीयकल्पे हेतोः आभासा इत्यत्र षष्ठ्या कृत्प्रत्ययार्थश्च विषयतावान् निष्ठत्वमर्थः । आभासाः दोषाः । हेतुनिष्ठा दोषविशेषा हेत्वाभासाः हेतुगता दोष-विशेषाः । तादृशदोषवत्त्वं दुष्टहेतुत्वमिति सारः । विषयाश्चेमे अभिः पङ्क्तिकाभिः सुखबोधाः (See p.३८) ।

इत्थंभूते वस्तुनि न्यायप्रवेशकसूत्राभिधे बौद्धन्यायग्रन्थे दिङ्नागेन हेतोस्त्रैरूप्य-मेवं प्रत्यपादि । यथा – "हेतुस्त्रिरूपः । किं पुनस्त्रैरूप्यम्? पक्षधर्मत्वं, सपक्षे सत्त्वं, विपक्षे च असत्त्वमिति" इति ।[14] तदसत् । अबाधितत्वासत्प्रतिपक्षत्व-योरप्यनपलापनीयत्वात् । उक्तपूर्वेषु न कुत्रापि तयोरन्तर्भावस्य वक्तुं शक्यत्वात् । तदनुरोधं तेन त्रय एव हेत्वाभासाः निरूपिताः । यथा –

"असिद्धानैकान्तिकविरुद्धा हेत्वाभासाः" इति ।[15] नायं दिङ्नागाभिमतः पक्षः साधीयान् । न्यूनतादोषदुष्टः । असिद्धादीनां हेत्वाभासानां अनुमितिकरण-व्याप्तिग्रहप्रतिबन्धकतामात्रविश्रान्तत्वात् । साक्षात् साध्यवत्ताग्रहप्रतिबन्धकता-विरहात् । अनुमितिं प्रति प्रतिबन्धकतया न कस्यापि हेत्वाभासस्य तेन प्रतिपादि-तत्वात् । बाधस्य तु साध्यवत्ताग्रहप्रतिबन्धः परमं प्रयोजनम् ।

बाधः

१. "ह्रदो वह्निमान्, प्रमेयत्वात्"

इत्यादिबाधस्थले यद्यपि हेतोः साध्याभाववद्वृत्तितया व्यभिचार इति दुष्टत्वमुपपद्यते । एवं

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13. न्या. म – पृ. १५२
14. न्यायप्रवेशकसूत्रम् – पृ. १
15. न्यायप्र. सू. – पृ. ३

२. "ह्रदो वह्निमान्, धूमात्"

इत्यादिबाधस्थले पक्षे हेतोरभावात् स्वरूपासिद्धिरिति तत एव हेतोः दुष्टत्वमुपपद्यते। साध्याभाववत्पक्षः बाधः। तादृशपक्षे हेतुसत्त्वे व्यभिचारः दोषः। हेतोरसत्त्वे स्वरूपासिद्धिः दोषः। बाधस्थले च व्यभिचारो वा स्वरूपासिद्धिर्वा अवश्यं भवत एव। एवं च तर्हि उक्तव्यभिचार – स्वरूपासिद्ध्योः अवश्यं बाधस्थले विद्यमानतया लाघवात् तयोस्तदन्तर्भावः शङ्क्येत। तथापि

३. "पृथिवी गन्धवती, स्नेहात्"

इत्यादौ बाधाभावेऽपि व्यभिचार–स्वरूपासिद्ध्योः दर्शनात्। व्यभिचार–स्वरूपासिद्ध्योरनङ्गीकारे बाधेन तत्र हेतोः दुष्टत्वोपपादनस्य दुष्करत्वात्। अतः व्यभिचारः स्वरूपासिद्धिश्च अङ्गीकार्यौ। मास्तु बाधः इति चेत्; न। बाधस्येदं विशिष्टप्रयोजनं यत् साध्यवत्ताग्रहप्रतिबन्धः। हेतौ "अयं बाधित" इति विशेषतो व्यवहारश्च। व्यभिचारस्य व्याप्तिग्रहप्रतिबन्धः "अयं व्यभिचारी" इति विशेषतो व्यवहारश्च प्रयोजनम्। स्वरूपासिद्धेस्तु हेतुमत्ताज्ञानप्रतिबन्धः "अयं स्वरूपासिद्धः" इति विशेषतो व्यवहारश्च प्रयोजनम्।

दुष्ट इति सामान्यतो व्यवहारस्तु सर्वेषां दोषाणां साधारणं प्रयोजनम्। एवञ्च साध्यवत्ताज्ञानप्रतिबन्धरूपविशेषप्रयोजनद्वारा "अयं बाधित" इति व्यवहारनिर्वाहः बाधेनैव भवति।

अन्यच्च – व्यभिचारज्ञानं हि परामर्शप्रतिबन्धद्वारैव अनुमितिं प्रतिबध्नाति। न साक्षात्। यत्र परामर्शानन्तरं बाधोन्मेषात् अनुमितेरनुत्पादः तत्र उत्पन्ने परामर्शे व्यभिचारज्ञानादेः व्याप्तिज्ञानप्रतिबन्धद्वारा अनुमित्यनुत्पादफलत्वाभावेन तत्रानुमित्यापत्तिः। बाधज्ञानमन्तरा न तत्र हेतोः दुष्टत्वव्यवहारः। अतः बाधज्ञानस्य अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वं तद्विषयबाधरूपेण दोषेणैव हेतोः दुष्टत्वव्यवहारश्चावश्यमवसेयः। व्यभिचारस्वरूपासिद्ध्योः अकिञ्चित्करत्वात्; बाधेनैव अनुमित्यनुत्पादस्य अनुभवसिद्धत्वात्। व्यभिचारस्वरूपासिद्धिरहितं बाधस्थलं च वर्तते।

४. "उत्पत्तिक्षणावच्छिन्नघटो गन्धवान्, पृथिवीत्वात्"

इत्यत्र हेतोः पृथिवीत्वस्य साध्यवदन्यवृत्तित्वाभावात् न व्यभिचारः; घटावृत्तित्वाभावाच्च न स्वरूपासिद्धिः। साध्यव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगित्वाभावात् न चापि विरोधः।

नतरां सत्प्रतिपक्षः प्रतियोगिव्यधिकरणगन्धाभावव्याप्यस्य घटेऽसंभवात्। अन्यथाऽस्यापि सत्प्रतिपक्षसङ्कीर्णत्वे बाधव्याप्यत्वं सत्प्रतिपक्षस्य दुर्निरूपम्। व्यापको हि व्याप्यापेक्षया अधिकदेशवृत्तिरिति सार्वजनीनोऽनुभवः। अतः तद्विलक्षणतया बाधसिद्धिः।

न चात्रोत्पत्तिक्षणावच्छेदेन गन्धाभाववति घटे पृथिवीत्वस्य सत्त्वादस्ति व्यभिचार इति वाच्यम्। व्यभिचारघटकसाध्याभावस्य प्रतियोगिवैयधिकरण्येन विशेषणीयत्वात्। अन्यथा "कपिसंयोगी, एतद्वृक्षत्वात्" इति सद्धेतोरपि व्यभिचारित्वापत्तिः दुर्वारा। गन्धाभाववदुत्पत्तिक्षणावच्छिन्नघटो हि बाधः। अत्र चायमेक एव दोषः। उक्तञ्चैतदुदयनाचार्येण परिशुद्धौ यथा –

> "ननु बाधो नाम नाविनाभावभङ्गादपरः कश्चित्। सोऽपि न त्रैरूप्यप्रच्यवादन्य इत्यत आह – बाधेति। नहि बाधमव्यवस्थाप्य अनैकान्तिकत्वमपक्षधर्मत्वं वावतारयितुं शक्यम्। अतोऽस्यावश्योद्भाव्यतयाऽवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्यः। अन्यथा विरोधमपि नाभ्युपगच्छेत्। विरोधे हि हेतोरभावे स्वरूपासिद्धिः साध्याभावेऽपक्षधर्मता दुर्निवारा" इति।[16]

अतः बाधस्यातिरिक्तहेत्वाभासत्वमवश्याभ्युपगन्तव्यम्॥

सत्प्रतिपक्षः

एवमेव सत्प्रतिक्षोऽपि पूर्वोक्तहेत्वाभासविलक्षणः। न च तस्य विरोधेऽन्तर्भावोऽस्त्विति वाच्यम्। विरोधो हि साध्यव्यापकीभूताभावप्रतियोगिहेतुत्वम्। अर्थात् साध्याभावनिरूपितव्यतिरेकव्याप्तिविशिष्टहेतुः विरुद्धः। साध्याभावव्याप्तिविशिष्टहेतुमत्पक्षश्च सत्प्रतिपक्षश्च। अतस्तयोर्जागर्ति तावत् सुमहान् भेद इति न सत्प्रतिपक्षस्य विरोधेऽन्तर्भावः। विरोधस्य साध्याभावनिरूपितव्याप्तिप्रकारकहेतुविशेष्यकज्ञानरूपतया साध्याभावग्रहसामग्रीत्वेनास्य प्रतिबन्धकता।

सत्प्रतिपक्षे च हेतुद्वयम्। तत्र प्रतिहेतुरेव साध्याभावसाधकः, विरुद्धे पुनः एक एव हेतुः। स च साध्याभावसाधक एव साध्यसाधकत्वेन उपन्यस्यत इति पुरुषनिष्ठाशक्तिविशेषदोषज्ञापकत्वं तत्र ज्ञापयति। सत्प्रतिपक्षे तु न तथेति दोषविशेषज्ञापकत्वाज्ञापकत्वाभ्यां द्वयोस्तयोः भेद इति ज्ञेयम्।

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16. न्यायचतुर्ग्रन्थिका – परिशुद्धिः – पृ. ६६८

एवं च फलभेदादपि विरुद्धसत्प्रतिपक्षयोर्भेदः शक्यवचनः। तथाहि – सत्प्रतिपक्षः साध्यतदभावोभयानुमितिप्रतिबन्धफलकः। विरुद्धस्तु एकानुमितिप्रतिबन्धफलक इति फलभेदनिबन्धनोऽपि समुल्लसति तयोर्भेदः। अत एव सत्प्रतिपक्षस्य अनुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वं न दूषकताबीजम्, तदभावव्याप्यवत्ताज्ञानस्यानुमितिप्रतिबन्धकत्वे मानाभावादिति संशयजनकत्वं तस्य दूषकताबीजमित्युपन्यस्यतां रत्नकोशकाराणां मतं दूषयन् विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चाननः सत्प्रतिपक्षस्य परस्परानुमितिप्रतिबन्धः फलमित्यभिधत्ते। यथा –

"अत्र च परस्पराभावव्याप्यवत्ताज्ञानात् परस्परानुमितिप्रतिबन्धः फलम्" इति।[17]

तत्त्वचिन्तामणौ गङ्गेशोपाध्यायेन सत्प्रतिपक्षग्रन्थे निर्णयाजनकत्वं फलमित्यभ्यधायि। यथा –

"दूषकताबीजं तु समबलविरोधिसामग्रीप्रतिबन्धेन निर्णयाजनकत्वम्। न तु व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मताविरह एव। सद्धेतावपि सत्प्रतिपक्षत्वात्" इति।[18]

एवञ्चास्य अनुमित्युत्पादकत्वं दूषकताबीजमिति फलितम्।

एवञ्च हेत्वाभासानां पञ्चविधत्वं न्यायदर्शने गौतमोक्तं तदनन्तरकालिकैः नैयायिकैः सम्यगास्थितं साधु सङ्गच्छते। यथा – "सव्यभिचार–विरुद्ध–प्रकरणसम–साध्यसम–कालातीता हेत्वाभासाः" [1-2-4] इति।[19] वैशेषिकदर्शनेऽपि कणादेन कण्ठरवेणोक्ता असिद्ध – विरुद्धा – नैकान्तिकास्त्रयः चकारेण सङ्गृहीतौ बाधितसत्प्रतिपक्षिताविति आहत्य पञ्च हेत्वाभासाः। यथा –

"अप्रसिद्धोऽनपदेशोऽसन् सन्दिग्धश्चानपदेशः" [3-1-15] इति।[20]

अत्र अनपदेश इति हेत्वाभासवाची शब्दः। हेतुर्हि तैः अपदेश इत्युच्यते॥

यद्यपि पदार्थधर्मसङ्ग्रहकारः प्रशस्तपादः –

"अनुमेयेन सम्बद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते।
तदभावे च नास्त्येव तल्लिङ्गमनुमापकम्॥

17. कारिकावली – पृ. ५२२
18. सत्प्रतिपक्षः – पृ. ५१
19. न्यायदर्शनम्–न्या–च – पृ. ६३१
20. वैशेषिकदर्शनम् – पृ. ९५

विपरीतमतो यत्स्यात् एकेन द्वितयेन वा ।
विरुद्धासिद्धसन्धिग्धम् अलिङ्गं काश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ॥''

इत्याद्युक्त्वा[21] पूर्वोक्तत्रितयविलक्षणतया अनध्यवसितनामानं हेत्वाभासमङ्गीकरोति यो वा वस्तुतः असाधारणाख्यानैकान्तिक एव अन्तर्भावमर्हति । विशेषस्त्वग्रे वक्ष्यते । अत एवोक्तं शङ्करमिश्रेणापि स्वोपस्कारे –

''वृत्तिकारास्तु 'अप्रसिद्धोऽनपदेशोऽसन् सन्दिग्धश्चानपदेशः'

इति सूत्रस्थचकारस्य बाधसत्प्रतिपक्षसमुच्चयार्थतामाह । तेन 'सव्यभिचारविरुद्धप्रकरणसमसाध्यसमातीतकालाः पञ्च हेत्वाभासाः' इति गौतमीयमेव मतमनुधावति ।'' इति ।[22] एवं 'विरुद्धासिद्धसन्दिग्धम् अलिङ्गं काश्यपोऽब्रवीत्' इत्यादि वचनमपि उपलक्षणविधयैव पञ्चहेत्वाभासान् प्रतिपादयति ।[23]

प्रकृते न्यायप्रवेशकसूत्रे असिद्धादिषु हेत्वाभासेषु दिङ्नागकृतः अवान्तरविभागोऽपि न युक्तिसह इति संक्षेपेण प्रदर्श्यते ॥

असिद्धः

दिङ्नागेन प्रथमतः निर्दिष्टो हेत्वाभासः असिद्धः । स च उभयासिद्ध – अन्यतरासिद्ध – सन्दिग्धासिद्ध – आश्रयासिद्ध – भेदेन चतुर्धा तेन विभक्तः । नैयायिकमतानुरोधमसिद्धः आश्रयासिद्ध – स्वरूपासिद्ध – व्याप्यत्वासिद्धभेदेन त्रिविध एव ।

दिङ्नागेन चतुर्थासिद्धभेदतयोपन्यस्तः आश्रयासिद्धः नैयायिकोक्ताश्रयासिद्धसमानयोगक्षेमः । उभयत्राप्याश्रयासिद्धत्वात् । तथैव

''शब्दः अनित्यः, चाक्षुषत्वात्'' इति य उभयासिद्ध उपन्यस्तः सः स्वरूपासिद्ध एव । उभयोरपि दोषसाम्यात् ।

यः तृतीयः – ''शब्दः अनित्यः, कृतकत्वात्'' इति अन्यतरासिद्धतयोपन्यस्तः सः हेत्वाभास एव न भवति । अन्यच्च मीमांसकं कापिलं वा प्रति असिद्ध इत्ययमन्य-

21. वैशेषिकदर्शनम् – पृ. ९९
22. वै. सूत्रोपस्कारः पृ. ९९
23. वै. द. प्र. भा. पृ. ११६

तरासिद्ध इति वचनं न घटते। कुत इति चेत्—दार्शनिकेषु बहवः सिद्धान्तभेदाः भवन्ति। परप्रयुक्ते हेतौ अन्यः अवश्यं हेत्वाभासोद्घाटनं करोति स्वपक्षरक्षणार्थम्। अतः अयम् अन्यतरासिद्ध इति विभाग एव न क्षोदक्षमः।

एवं संदिग्धासिद्धोऽपि। 'वह्निमान्, धूमात्' इत्यादौ बाष्पभावेन वा रेणुरूपतया वा सन्दिह्यमानः हेतुः। परेण सन्दिह्यमानत्वं न हेत्वाभासतायां गमकमिति नायं हेत्वाभास इत्यङ्गीक्रियते। अयं जैननैयायिकेन यशोविजयगणिनापि नाङ्गीकृतः।

अत्रासिद्धविभागे नैयायिकाभ्युपगतव्याप्यत्वासिद्धरूपहेत्वाभासः न दिङ्नागेनाङ्गीकृत इति न्यूनता चास्मिन् पक्षे।

अनैकान्तिकः

अयं साधारणः असाधारणः सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापी—विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिस्सपक्षव्यापी उभयपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी चेति षोढा विभक्तः।

अत्र साधारणासाधारणयोर्विषये न नैयायिकानां विप्रतिपत्तिः। किन्तु तद्भिन्नानां चतुर्णां विषय एव। तथाहि—

१. साधारणः—"शब्दः नित्यः, प्रमेयत्वात्"

२. असाधारणः—"शब्दः नित्यः, श्रावणत्वात्"

इत्यनयोः नैयायिकोक्तदिशैव हेत्वाभासता सुलभा।

३. सपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिर्विपक्षव्यापी—
"अप्रयत्ननान्तरीयकः शब्दः, अनित्यत्वात्"

४. विपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिस्सपक्षव्यापी—
"प्रयत्ननान्तरीयकः शब्दः, अनित्यत्वात्"

५. उभयपक्षैकदेशवृत्तिः—"नित्यः शब्दः, अमूर्तत्वात्"

इत्युक्तानां त्रयाणां साधारणाख्ये हेत्वाभासेऽन्तर्भावः। 'विपक्षवृत्तित्वं साधारणत्वमिति' हि साधारणलक्षणं गङ्गेशोपाध्यायेन प्रतिपादितम्। एषु च विपक्षवृत्तित्वं सर्वत्र सुलभमिति तत्रैवान्तर्भावः।

६. विरुद्धाव्यभिचारी—

"अनित्यः शब्दः, कृतकत्वात्, घटवत्"
"नित्यः शब्दः, श्रावणत्वात्, शब्दत्ववत्"

इति षष्ठः अनैकान्तिकप्रभेद इति दिङ्नागाशयः। अयं च नैयायिकोक्तसत्प्रतिपक्ष एवेति नायमत्रानैकान्तिके पातमर्हति। अयं बौद्धनैयायिकेनैव धर्मकीर्तिना न्यायबिन्दौ दूषितः।[24]

विरुद्धः

अयं पुनः धर्मस्वरूपविपरीतसाधनः, धर्मविशेषविपरीतसाधनः, धर्मिस्वरूपविपरीतसाधनः, धर्मिविशेषविपरीतसाधनश्चेति चतुर्धा विभक्तः दिङ्नागेन।

१. अत्र "नित्यः शब्दः, कृतकत्वात्" इति धर्मस्वरूपविपरीतसाधनः प्रथमः विरुद्धः। अत्र धर्मस्वरूपस्यनित्यत्वस्य विपरीतम् अनित्यत्वमेव कृतकत्वरूपहेतुना साध्यत इत्ययं तैः धर्मस्वरूपविपरीतसाधन इत्युक्तम्। अयं साध्याभाव व्याप्तः हेतुः विरुद्ध इति नैयायिकैरप्यभ्युपगतः।

२. धर्मविशेषविपरीतसाधनः – "परार्थाश्चक्षुरादयः, संघातत्वात्, शयनासनाद्यङ्गविशेषवत्"

३. धर्मिस्वरूपविपरीतसाधनः – "न द्रव्यं न कर्म न गुणः भावः, एकद्रव्यत्वात्, गुणकर्मसु च भावात्, सामान्यविशेषवदिति"।

४. धर्मिविशेषविपरीतसाधनः – "न द्रव्यं, न कर्म, न गुणः भाव; एकद्रव्यत्वात्, गुणकर्मसु च भावात्"

[अत्र धर्मिणः भावस्य विशेषः सत्प्रत्ययकर्तृत्वं, तद्विपरीतमसत्प्रत्ययकर्तृत्वं साधयति हेतुः]

अल्पभेदनिबन्धनाः बहवोऽत्रैवं रूपाः विरुद्धाः भवितुमर्हन्ति। तेषां सर्वेषां परिगणनं न शक्यवचनमिति नैयायिकैः उदासितम्।

अत एव प्रतिज्ञाविरोध–हेतुविरोधभेदेन द्विधा भिन्नोऽपि विरोधः, अष्टविधोऽपि स्वरूपासिद्धः, त्रिविधो व्याप्यत्वासिद्धः, दशविधो बाधः, दशविधोऽपि सत्प्रतिपक्षः लाघवानुरोधं न विभक्ताः।[25]

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24. न्यायबिन्दुः – पृ. ८६
25. न्यायवार्त्तिकम् – पृ. ६४८

न्यायवार्त्तिककारस्य भारद्वाजोद्योतकरस्य कथनानुरोधं सर्वे च हेत्वाभासाः आहत्य ३६०० भवन्ति ।[26] यथोक्तं न्यायवार्त्तिके –

"कियता पुनर्भेदेनायं हेतु – हेत्वाभासः प्रसृत इति? काल - पुरुष - वस्तु - भेदानुविधानेन अपरिसंख्येयः" इति ।[26]

अत एव न्यायग्रन्थेषु गौतममारभ्याद्यावधि प्रधानाः हेत्वाभासाः पञ्चधा विभक्ताः लक्ष्यन्ते । न च मध्ये कैश्चिदन्ये च हेत्वाभासाः समुपदर्शिता इति वाच्यम् । भदन्तदर्शनप्रभावमूलकोऽयं विभाग इति न सुधीभिरादर्तव्यः ।

इत्थंभूते वस्तुनि दिङ्नागेन सत्प्रतिपक्षबाधयोः अनङ्गीकरणं न्यूनतावहम् ।[27]

तथा त्रिविधस्य असिद्धस्य चतुर्धा, त्रिविधस्य सव्यभिचारस्य षोढा, विरोधस्य चतुर्धा च कृतः अवान्तरविभागः अधिकतादोषदुष्ट इति गौतमोक्तः पञ्चधा विभाग एव साधीयानिति विस्तरभीत्या विरम्यते ॥*

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26. सत्प्रतिपक्षः – भू. पृ. २
27. न्यायवार्त्तिकम् – पृ. ६३१

*इदंत्विह चोद्यम् – तद्वत्ताज्ञानसामान्यं प्रति तदभाववत्ताज्ञानस्य तदभावव्याप्यवत्ताज्ञानस्य च प्रतिबन्धकत्वं क्लृप्तमित्यनेनैव निर्वाहे अनुमितौ बाधसत्प्रतिपक्षज्ञानयोः पृथक्प्रतिबन्धकत्वकल्पनप्रयासो न्यायग्रन्थकृतां किंप्रयोजनकः? – श्री. शङ्करनारायणः ।

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गङ्गेशोपाध्यायः	सत्प्रतिपक्षः	-do-	1962
,, ,,	साधारणग्रन्थः	-do-	1927
गौतमः	न्यायदर्शनम्	दरभङ्गा	1967
चिदानन्दपण्डितः	नीतितत्त्वाविर्भावः	मद्रास्	—
जगदीशः	तर्कामृतम्	कलकत्ता	1880
जयन्तभट्टः	न्यायमञ्जरी	वाराणसी	1934
जिनवर्धनः	जिनवर्धनी	अहम्मदाबाद्	1963
दिङ्नागः	न्यायप्रवेशकसूत्रम्	बरोडा	1968
धर्मकीर्त्तिः	न्यायबिन्दुः	वाराणसी	1954
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लौगाक्षिभास्करः	तर्ककौमुदी	मुम्बई	1928
वात्स्यायनः	न्यायभाष्यम्	दरभङ्गा	196
विश्वनाथन्यायपञ्चाननः	कारिकावली	मद्रास्	1923
वेदान्तदेशिकः	न्यायपरिशुद्धिः	काञ्चीपुरम्	1940
शङ्करमिश्रः	वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कारः	वाराणसी	1923
शिवादित्यः	सप्तपदार्थी	अहम्मदाबाद्	1963
सर्वदेवसूरिः	प्रमाणमञ्जरी	मुम्बई	1937

SRI K. SRINIVASAVARADAN

MANUSCRIPT NOTICE

श्रीयामलाष्टकतन्त्रम्

The *Yāmalāṣṭaka* is a Tantric work in Sanskrit. A manuscript copy of it is stored in the Library of Sri Venkateswara University Oriental Research Institute. It bears the stock No. 6843. The following are the details of the same.

Author	...	Unknown
Substance	...	Loose papers (written on one side only with pencil)
Script	...	Telugu
No. of pages	...	235
Size	...	34.5×21.5 cms
No. of lines on each page	...	36
Letters in each line	...	16 (Uniformly one hemistich per line)
No. of Granthas	...	4300
Extent	...	Complete
Condition	...	Poor
Scribe / Date	...	Not mentioned.

A certain manuscript copy of a work bearing the name *Yāmalāṣṭakatantra* is said to have been noticed by Burnell[1] as early as 1880 in his *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace of Tanjore.* But there is no clue to find out whether the manuscript of the *Yāmalāṣṭakatantra* of Burnell and the present manuscript of ours are copies of one and the same work. Again no other manuscript bearing the name *Yāmalāṣṭakatantra* seems to have been noticed anywhere else.

In the present work there are 107 chapters, called *Paṭalas*, explaining many varied interesting subjects. It is written in the form of the conversation between Pārvatī and Parameśvara. Each *Paṭala* contains

1. See Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, 1962, *s.v.*

suitable answers of the latter to the questions of the former. At times more than one *Paṭala* constitute a single answer. The whole is in simple Sanskrit verses in *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

अस्मिन् ग्रन्थे सप्तोत्तरशतसंख्याकाः पटलाः सन्ति। परन्तु दशोत्तरशतत्वेन परिगणिताः एते।[2] पार्वतीपरमेश्वरसंवादात्मकतया प्रवृत्तमिदं तन्त्रं पटलात्मना विभक्तं वर्तते। प्रतिपटलं पार्वत्याः प्रश्नः तस्य च समाधानं परमेश्वरस्य। कुत्रचित् पटलद्वये तदधिके वा अनुस्यूततया समाधानं सदाशिवेन विवृतमस्ति। आरम्भप्रभृति अवसान-पर्यन्तं अनुष्टुप्छन्दोबद्धमिदं पूर्णतया उपलभ्यमानं तन्त्रं पाठकानां मनोरञ्जकं सत् बुद्धेर्विकासं च जनयति।

एतत्तन्त्रप्रतिपादितविषयाणां सूचिकामन्ते दास्यामः। अस्य तन्त्रस्य वैशिष्ट्यन्तु त्रिमूर्तीनां, तेषां शक्तीनाञ्च एकमूलकारणजन्यत्वस्य, परस्परसापेक्षत्वस्य च प्रतिपादनम्, प्रपञ्चगतानां बहूनां ज्ञातव्यांशानाम् अर्थात् श्रुतीतिहासपुराणागमतन्त्रादिविषयाणां विवरणम्, घृतचूर्णतैलकषायाद्यौषधादीनां निरूपणम्, प्रायश्चित्तादीनां निरूपणम्, तत्तद्देवताभिषेकार्चनादिप्रभेदकथनम्, विविधरोगनिदानस्वरूपकीर्तनम्, चन्द्रतारा-बलकथनम्, स्त्रीपुरुषलक्षणस्वरूपनिरूपणमित्यादयो बहवो विषयाः सरलया शैल्या प्रपञ्चिताः। तथा च इदं पुस्तकं विद्याचक्रमिव विज्ञानसर्वस्वम् (Encyclopedia) इव विराजते।

अस्य तन्त्रस्य नाम यामलाष्टकमिति। हंसहंसीइति प्रथमं यमलम्, शिववाणी इति द्वितीयम्, विष्णुशर्वाणी इति तृतीयम्, कमलाविधी इति चतुर्थं यमलम् इति यमलजातानाम् अष्टानां यामलानामुत्पत्तिनिरूपणमारभ्य प्रवृत्तत्वात् अयं ग्रन्थः याम-लाष्टकमिति नाम्ना प्रथते इति प्रतिभाति। एतदधिकृत्य तृतीये पटले एवं वर्णितमस्ति।

पार्वती –

श्रोतुमिच्छामि देवेश विस्तराद्यामलाष्टकम्।
तन्त्रं जगत्तन्त्रकारिन् स्वतन्त्रपुरुष प्रभो ॥

सृष्टिं यमलजातानां शिवविष्णुस्वयम्भुवाम्।
जगत्सृष्टिस्वरूपञ्च कालतत्त्वं महत्तरम् ॥

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2. वस्तुतः सप्ताधिकशतसंख्याकाः (107) पटला एव अत्र ग्रन्थे वर्तन्ते। एकत्रिंशः द्वात्रिंशश्च पटलौ न दृश्येते इति मातृकायामपि निर्दिष्टम्। तथा लेखकः प्रमादात् त्र्यशीतितमं (83rd) पटलं चतुरशीतितमत्वेन (84th) परिगणय्य अत ऊर्ध्वं तदनुसारेण परिगणितवान् ॥

चतुर्दशविधं सर्गं यच्चान्यदपि मानवैः ।
ज्ञातव्यं तच्च सकलं यत्रोक्तं यामलाष्टके ॥
तत्सर्वं सर्वलोकेश विस्तराद् वक्तुमर्हसि ॥

श्रीशिवः —

साधुसाधु विशालाक्षि यन्मां त्वं पृष्टवत्यसि ।
चापल्याच्चैव बाल्याच्च स्त्रीस्वभावाद्विशेषतः ॥

उच्यमानं मया देवि त्वं न शक्नोषि वेदितुम् ।
तथापि सकलं तुभ्यं सुबोधं विस्तरादहम् ॥

यदुक्तं शम्भुना पूर्वं तत्सर्वं नारदर्षये ।
त्वयि स्नेहात् प्रवक्ष्यामि सावधानमनाः शृणु ॥

इत्यारभ्य आदिसर्गं विवृण्वन् महेश्वरः —

नारायणाह्वयो हंसः प्रादुर्भूतः स्वयं क्षणात् ।
स पुनः कालयोगेन सर्गेच्छुर्जगतः स्वतः ॥

हंसीमजनयत् स्थूलां नानावर्णां विहङ्गमाम् ।
संगता सापि कालेन हंसेच्छायोगतः प्रिये ।
तान्यभूवन् विभिन्नानि कालेनाण्डानि भूयसा ।
यमलौ युगपत्तेभ्यः संजज्ञाते पृथक् पृथक् ॥

एकस्मादण्डकुहरात् शिववाण्यावजायताम् ।
द्वितीयात् विष्णुशर्वाण्यौ तृतीयात् कमलाविधी ॥

....

समपद्यन्त मिथुनान्यन्योन्यं यमलाण्डजाः ॥

विष्णुस्वसारमीशानस्तत्स्वसारं पितामहः ।
तत्स्वसारं महाविष्णुरेवं पाणीनपीडयन् ॥

ते सृष्टिस्थितिसंहारकर्तारः सर्वमङ्गले ।
प्रकुर्वन्ति जगत्सृष्टिं कारयन्ति जगत्स्थितिम् ॥

जगन्नाशं च कालेन मरीच्यादिभिरद्रिजे ।
सृष्टिस्थितिलयाख्येषु त्रिषु कर्मसु हेतवः ॥

आदिसर्गे महादेवो शिवो विष्णुः पितामहः ।
ते वै परस्परोत्पन्नाः धारयन्ति परस्परम् ॥

परस्परेण वर्तन्ते परस्परमनुव्रताः ।

....

इत्येवं तव देवेशि यमसृष्टिरुदाहृता ॥'' इति

यद्यपि एतेषां मिथुनानामुत्पत्तिः, तेषां परस्परविवाहादिकं च मार्कण्डेयपुराणादिषु एवं रीत्यैव निरूपितम्,[3] तथापि तत्र तद्वर्णनं न तथा विशदीकृतम् यथा प्रकृते ग्रन्थे ॥

प्रकृतग्रन्थस्य प्रारम्भः अवसानं च एवं विद्यतेः

Beginning :

शुक्लांबरधरं.... ....शान्तये ।
शिवं शिवां गणपतिं श्रीपतिं वासवेश्वम् ।
प्रणम्य ज्ञानसिद्ध्यर्थं गूढार्थज्ञं गुरुं भजे ॥

At the end of the first *Paṭala* :

माहेश्वरी महादेवी महालक्ष्मीर्मृडप्रिया ।
कौतूहलसमाविष्टा शिपिविष्टं विलोक्य सा ॥

तं प्रश्नं(ष्टुं?) कमपि प्रश्नमिच्छन्ती लोकवत्सला ।
अस्तौषीदादिकर्तारं वाग्भिर्भर्तारमात्मनः ।

Colophon :

इति श्रीमद्यामलाष्टकतन्त्रे महासदाशिवध्यानस्वरूप–कथनन्नाम प्रथमः पटलः

Beginning of the third *Paṭala*:

विश्वेश्वर विरूपाक्ष वृषभध्वज शङ्कर ।
सर्वज्ञ सर्ववरद कामारे करुणाकर ॥

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3. Cf. The *Prādhānika Rahasya* of the *Durgāsaptaśatī* portion of the Purāṇa - See *The Durgāsaptaśatī*, Vaibhava Press, Bombay, 1946, pp. 307 ff.

अहमल्पमतिस्त्वत्तः सर्वज्ञात् भक्तवत्सलात् ।
श्रोतुमिच्छामि देवेश विस्तराद्यामलाष्टकम् ॥ इत्यादि

Ending of the last *Paṭala*:

इत्येवं तव देवेशि सर्वलोकोपकारकम् ।
कर्माङ्गानामशेषाणां स्वरूपं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

Colophon at the end:

इति श्रीमद्यामलाष्टकतन्त्रे कर्माङ्गभूतप्रतिमादिकथनम् नाम दशाधिक-
शततमः पटलः ॥

Some eleven *ślokas* are added after the above, at the end. They are as follows.

Beginning :

शम्भो शङ्कर सर्वज्ञ चन्द्रशेखर धूर्जटे ।
प्रपञ्चरूपपञ्चात्मन् पञ्चकृत्यपरायण ॥

Ending :

महेश्वरी महादेवी महालक्ष्मीर्मृडप्रिया ।
कौतूहलसमाविष्टा शिपिविष्टेन साहसा ॥

नित्यानन्दमये नित्यमुक्तसंसेवितान्तरे ।
महाकैलासशिखरे मनोज्ञे कनकासने ॥

उपास्यमान(ना ?) शक्तीभिरसंख्याभिरनुक्षणम् ।
अक्षद्यूतेनादिशक्तिर्विहर्तुमुपचक्रमे ॥

इति श्रीमद्यामलाष्टकतन्त्रे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरसंवादः समाप्तः ज

श्रीमद्यामलाष्टकतन्त्रप्रतिपादितविषयाणां सूचिका।

पटलसंख्या	विषया:
1.	श्रीमहासदाशिवध्यानम्।
2.	पार्वतीप्रश्नः।
3.	यमळसृष्टिस्वरूपम्।
4.	शिवसृष्टिः।
5.	विष्णुसृष्टिः।
6.	ब्रह्मसृष्टिः।
7.	जगदायुःकालप्रमाणम्।
8.	चतुर्दशाण्डसम्भूतयमलस्वरूपम्।
9.	षड्विधशास्त्रनिरूपणम्।
10.	वेदस्वरूपम्।
11.	आयुर्वेद, धनुर्वेद, गांधर्ववेदाद्युपवेदस्वरूपम्।
12.	रसेश्वर, वासस्पत्याद्यङ्गवेदस्वरूपम्।
13.	अखिलोपनिषन्मन्त्रसंहितास्वरूपम्।
14.	तर्क - वैशेषिक - सांख्य - मीमांसा - योग - वेदान्तानां शास्त्राणां स्वरूपम्, तद्भेदनामानि।
15.	नीतिशास्त्र-धर्मशास्त्राद्युपशास्त्र-अङ्गशास्त्रस्वरूपम्।
16.	ब्राह्म-पाद्म-विष्ण्वाद्यष्टादशपुराणानि।
17.	सनत्कुमार-नारसिंह-स्कान्दाद्युपपुराणानि।
18.	भारत-हरिवंश-शेषधर्मादिपुराणभेदाः।
19.	विष्णु-पराशर-व्यासादिस्मृतीनां स्वरूपम्।
20.	जाबालि-नाचिकेताद्युपस्मृतीनां स्वरूपम्।
21.	मन्वाङ्गीरसभार्गवबार्हस्पत्यादिचतुर्विंशतिस्मृतीनां स्वरूपम्।
22.	सर्वज्ञानोत्तर-चन्द्रज्ञानादिद्वात्रिंशद्वैदिवतन्त्राणि।
23.	वैदिकतन्त्रस्वरूपम्।
24.	महामाया, शम्बर, योगिनीत्यादिद्वात्रिंशदवैदिकतन्त्राणि।
25.	द्वात्रिंशदवैदिकतन्त्रप्रतिपादितविषयाः।
26.	मन्त्रार्णव-मन्त्रसार-महाकाळाद्युपतन्त्राणि।

56. तत्रैव काम्यहोमानि ।
57. तत्रैव अभ्युदयहोमानि ।
58. तत्रैव शान्तिकहोमानि ।
59. तत्रैव पौष्टिकहोमानि ।
60. तत्रैव दानोपायाः । (दानेन मृत्युं जयति)
61. तत्रैव शान्त्युपायाः ।
62. तत्रैव व्रतोपायाः ।
63. तत्रैव प्रायश्चित्तप्रभेदाः ।
64. तत्रैव आवास-मठ-मण्टपादिसमर्पणपूर्वकदानस्वरूपम् ।
65. देवताविग्रहपूजाविषयाः ।
66. सालग्राम-शिवलिङ्गादिशैलिकार्चनम्, तत्फलञ्च ।
67. पुण्यक्षेत्रदर्शनम् ।
68. विप्रार्चनम् ।
69. पित्रर्चनम् ।
70. अभिषेकस्वरूपम् ।
71. आत्मनः तीर्थाभिषेकस्वरूपम् ।
72. मन्त्रस्नानम् ।
73. आयुरारोग्यसौभाग्यदायकं मानसिकस्नानम् ।
74. मलापकर्षण-अभ्यङ्गन-भस्म-रजसादिक्रियास्नानम् ।
75. मृत्युकालागमज्ञाने शारीरहेतुः ।
76. तत्रैव शाकुनहेतुः ।
77. तत्रैव स्वाप्नहेतुः ।
78. तत्रैव शपथहेतुः ।
79. तत्रैव गार्हहेतुः ।
80. तत्रैव दैव्यहेतुः ।
81. तत्रैव भौमहेतुः
82. तत्रैव आन्तरिक्षहेतुः ।
83. ....
84. तत्रैव भौतिकहेतुः ।

5. See foot-note No. 2

85. मनुष्यकर्मविस्तर: ।
86. मनुष्यकर्मविस्तरः मुक्तगमनस्वरूपञ्च ।
87. तत्रैव स्वर्गमार्गस्वरूपम् ।
88. तत्रैव स्वर्गगतविषया: ।
89. तत्रैव यममार्गगमनम् ।
90. संयमिनः गमनम् ।
91. यमदर्शनम् ।
92. पापितर्जनम् ।
93. यमशिक्षास्वरूपम् ।
94. नरकस्वरूपम् ।
95. नरकपातनम् ।
96. नरकविमुक्तिः ।
97. म्रियमाणमुद्दिश्य पुत्रादिभिः कर्तव्यकर्माणि ।
98. मृत्यनन्तरं पुत्रकर्माणि
99. नराणां रोगित्वे कर्मनिदानम् ।
100. मनुष्याणां वामजन्म(हीनन्म)प्राप्तिहेतु: ।
101. सर्वप्राण्यायु:प्रमाणम् ।
102. प्राणिनाम् अहिनकुल-सिंह्मशरभादीनां केषांचित्परस्परशत्रुत्वम् ।
103. विना युद्धं पूजादिभि: शत्रुमारणम् ।
104. भाविकालज्ञानम् ।
105. गौळी (house lizard) रुतसूचकलक्षणम् ।
106. चन्द्रताराबलकीर्तनम् ।
107. स्त्रीपुरुषलक्षणानि ।
108. स्त्रीसौन्दर्यकारणम् ।
109. सत्कर्मस्वरूपम् ।
110. तत्तत्कर्मप्रतिमालक्षण-द्रव्यशुद्धि-दक्षिणाधान्यादीनां निर्णय: ।

Dr. T. KOTESWARA RAO

రసజ్ఞుడు

SYNOPSIS

Dr. Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy is a real connoisseur of Art, who accepted the teachings of India in toto. His criticism on Indian Art, Scriptures and Society has become a locus classicus in the two hemispheres of human habitation.

Since the establishment of British rule in India, Indian Scriptures, Epics, Arts and Society were attacked bitterly and were blatantly commented upon.

At this critical juncture Dr. Coomaraswamy was carved out from that traditional mind of India. A celebrated scholar and a perceptive critic with an aesthetic sensibility, a rare feature among the cold academic minds, Coomaraswamy approached the Indian Arts and Crafts and its Society and Scriptures everything, with a profound understanding of the eternal 'Sanātana Dharma' and evaluated its real singnificance.

Through his celebrated works-The Dance of Shiva, A New Approach to the Vedas, Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art, Transformation of Nature into Art, Rajasthan Painting - he firmly established the aesthetic and spiritual principles of India. His approach is a national and at the same time universal; a principle of *Samanvaya* - which is to be sought by an inner eye.

This is the centenary year of this illustrious Indian art critic. Hence this essay is an appreciation of his critical acumen and traditional mind.

రసజ్ఞుడనగా విమర్శకుడు. విమర్శనవ్యాపారశీలి విమర్శకుడు. విమర్శనము రసజ్ఞతా వ్యాఖ్యానము. ఇది తార్కికము. శాస్త్రీయము. అనుభవమునకు తర్కరూప వ్యాఖ్యానము విమర్శ. అనుభవమనగా రసానుభవము. తత్త్వానుభవము. మొదటిది ఆలంకారికము. రెండవది వేదాంతము. రెంటికిని పొత్తున్నది. రెంటిలో [1]'రస' వ్యాఖ్యానమే కాబట్టి విమర్శలో ద్వివదశలున్నవి. 1. అనుభవదశ 2. వ్యాఖ్యానదశ.

ప్రథమదశలో కవి – విమర్శకు లిద్దఱు నొకటే. ఇచట విమర్శకుని పేరు సహృదయుడు. ఒకటేకాదు, ఇద్దఱును కలసిన తత్త్వమే సరస్వతీ తత్త్వము.

'సరస్వత్యాస్తత్త్వం కవి సహృదయాఖ్యం విజయతే' – ఇది గుప్త శ్రీపాదుల లోచన మంగళశ్లోకాంత వాక్యము. కవి సహృదయులు కలిసినగాని వృత్తము పూర్తికాదు. కావ్యము రసజన్యము. ఇది కవి మనోభూమిక. అది తదనుగుణ శబ్దాకృతి ధరించు చున్నది. ఈ శబ్దము కవి హృదయమైన రసమునకు వ్యంజకము. వాచకము కాదు. ఆ వ్యంజకమైన శబ్దము సహృదయగతమైన రసానుభూతియందు పర్యవసించుచున్నది. కాన, రసజన్యశబ్దము రసమునందే లీనమగుటతో వృత్తము పూర్తియగు చున్నది. ఇది సరస్వతీ తత్త్వము. సహృదయుడు కవితో సమానమైన హృదయము కలవాడు. కవి హృదయము వంటి హృదయమున్నవాడు. కాబట్టి కవికంటె సహృదయుడు భిన్నుడు కాడు.

[2]కావ్య వర్ణితాంశముతో సహృదయమునకు హృదయ సంవాదము కలిగి తన్మయ చిత్తవృత్తి కలవాడగుటయే రసానుభవము. ఇది ప్రథమమున కవి కున్నది. అది వ్యక్తమై శబ్దమై సహృదయునిలో ప్రకాశించుచున్నది. అందుచే కవిసహృదయులు వ్యాపారతో ఒభిన్నులు. ఇది భావనావ్యాపార జన్యము. భావన లేనివాడు నాటకశాలలోని స్తంభకుడ్యాదులట్టివాడగుట ప్రసిద్ధమే. ఈ భావనా వ్యాపారముచే కావ్యము పుట్టుటయు, రసికున కర్థమగుటయు జరుగుచున్నది. కవి సహృదయులు భావనా శీలురే.

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1. రసోవై సః (అసద్వా ఇదమగ్ర ఆసీత్. తతోవై సదజాయత. తదాత్మానం స్వయమ కురుత. తస్మాత్ తత్సుకృత ముచ్యత ఇతి. యదవై తత్సుకృతం) 'రసోవై సః రసం హ్యేవాయం లబ్ధ్వాఽఽనందీ భవతి. (తైత్తిరీయము). మొదట నేమియు లేదు. ఆ స్థితి అసత్తు దాని నుండి సత్తు వచ్చినది. అది తనంత తాను సృజించుకొన్నది. దాని కర్త మరొకటి లేదు. అందుచే నది సుకృత మన్నారు. అది సుకృతమే. (సుష్టుకృతము, (కన్పించునట్టి దాని కడుగు) అది రసమే. దానిని పొంది ఆనంద స్వరూపుడగు చున్నాడు.

2. Maritain also identifies appreciation and creation; just as the original intuition arose from a self identification of the artist with the appointed theme, so aesthetic experience, reproduction arises from a self identification of the spectator with the presented matter; criticism repeats the process of creation" – Krishna Chaitanya's Indian Poetics (P-47).

ప్రతీహారేందు రాజు, ప్రాచీన భారతీయాలంకారిక మార్గ ప్రతీకగా గృహీతుడైనచో, వాని సిద్ధాంతమిదే. తద్దృష్టిని వివరించుచు శ్రీకృష్ణచైతన్య తన Indian Poetics లో వ్రాసిన వాక్యము. "Pratīhārendu Rāja – Commenting on the 'endotelic listening' (Bhāvanā Vyāpāra) – is the basis not only of Poetic Creation but also on the readers' and critics' aesthetic recreation of poetry in the enjoyment of it." (P-45).

[3]కవి భావన స్వానుభవవ్యక్తీకృతికి సంబంధించినది. సహృదయ భావన వ్యక్తశబ్దానుభవసంబంధి. ఇద్దఱకు శబ్దశక్తి ప్రధానము. ఇదొక ఉపాసన. కవికి ధ్యానావస్థ లేనిదే కావ్యము పుట్టదు. రామాయణ ముదాహరణము.

"తత్సర్వం ధర్మవీర్యేణ యథావ త్సంప్రపశ్యతి"

(రామకథ నంతటిని యోగబలమున ఉన్నదున్నట్లు దర్శించెను).

"తతః పశ్యతి ధర్మాత్మా తత్సర్వం యోగమాస్థితః"

(ధర్మాత్ముడగు వాల్మీకి సర్వమును యోగదృష్టిచే చూచెను).

సహృదయునకు నీ ధ్యానావస్థ సిద్ధించనిదే రసదర్శనము లేదు. ఇందుకే ఆంజనేయుడు అశోకవనిలో సీతా దర్శనము చేసినపుడు కవి సమ్రాట్టన్నారు.

"కవి మహర్షి తపోఽగ్నిచేఁ గ్రాగి క్రాగి
సర్వతేజః ఫలంబు రసంబు తుదకు, కాంచినట్లుగ —— "

సీత నాతడు కాంచె నని. ఆంజనేయు డిట కవిస్థానీయుడు. సహృదయ స్థానీయుడును. ఇరువురకును రససాక్షాత్కృతియే తపస్సిద్ధి కావున, ఈ యనుభవము ప్రయత్నసిద్ధమా? అప్రయత్నసిద్ధమా? కవి కావ్య నిర్మాణసూత్రము అప్రయత్న సిద్ధమే. అది ఆంతర ప్రేరణ. బోధన. ఇందుకే మహానుభావుడు భామహాచార్యుడన్నాడు. "కావ్యంతు జాయతే జాతు కస్యచిత్ ప్రతిభావతః" కావ్యము మహాప్రతిభావంతున కెప్పుడో గాని స్ఫురించదని. ఇది కావ్యావిర్భావవిషయము. అది హఠాదుద్భూతమే. 'మానిషాద' యన్న ప్రథమ కవితావతార మట్లే జరిగినది. ధ్వన్యాలోకమున కవులు సరస్వతీ కామధేను వత్సము లన్నాడిందుకే. కవి ఒక విధముగా ఉన్మత్తుడు. 'Possessed' అని ప్లేటో ప్రభృతు లన్నారు. ఏ మహాకవియు తాను ప్రయత్నించి వ్రాయలేదు. లేడు. ఇది సిద్ధాంతము. పాశ్చాత్య ప్రమాణములు నట్లేయున్నవి. దీనినిబట్టి సహృదయునకు రసావభాసయు హఠాదుద్భూతమే. అప్రయత్నజమే.

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3. The process of getting to understand a poet is precisely that of constructing his poems in his own mind" – Seven Types of Ambiguity. W. Empson.

[4]"The Vision of beauty is spontaneous, in just the same sense as the inward light of the lover (bhakta). It is a state of grace that cannot be achieved by deliberate effort — for there are many witnesses that the secret of all art is to be found in self forgetfulness."

ఇది స్ఫురణారూపము. శబ్దమునకున్న వ్యంగ్యార్థము స్ఫురించుచున్నదే కాని ప్రయత్న జన్యము కాదు. ఇందుకే ధ్వన్యాలోకమున కావ్యశబ్ద – భాషా – తత్త్వవేత్తయన్నాడు. [5]పండితుడైనంతమాత్రాన రసాద్యర్థము స్ఫురించుట లేదని. వాల్మీకి 'మానిషాద' శ్లోకమని 'నే నిట్లన్నానేమి' – అని ఆశ్చర్యపోవుట యిట్టిదే. ఇందుకే [6]కావ్యావిర్భావహేతువున ప్రతిభకే పట్టాభిషేకము జరిగినది. వుత్పత్త్యభ్యాసములు – స్ఫురించిన కావ్యార్థము వ్యక్తీకృత మగుటలో తోడ్పడు సాధనము లంతే. బీజము ప్రతిభ. ఇది వామనాచార్యోక్తి. దేశకాలాదులు తదితరాంగములు. అంగములైనను వానికిని స్థానమున్నది. సహృదయునకు స్ఫురణచే రసాద్యర్థ మనుభూత మగుచున్నది. ఈ అనుభూతార్థ వ్యాఖ్యానము విమర్శ. ఇది సానుభవతర్కము. కవ్యనుభవవర్ణనము కావ్యము కాగా – సహృదయానుభవ వ్యాఖ్యానము విమర్శ, ఇక్కడ వ్యాపార భిన్నత యిరువురకు నడుమ నున్నది. భేదము కర్మయందు తప్ప జాతి యందు కాదు అనగా ధర్మమునందు కాదు. కవి సహృదయులు సమాన ధర్ములు కాన. కావున రసభావ విశ్లేషణము విమర్శ.

ఇక్కడ విమర్శక విధి – విమర్శ ప్రయోజనములు పరామర్శింప దగినవి. ఒక జాతి తాను జీవితార్థము ధ్యేయముగా చెప్పుకొన్న పరమార్థ సూత్రము ననుసరించి అచటి కళాదిక ముండును. కళ కిది నేపథ్యము.

శ్లో॥ [7]కాలే వారిధరాణాం అపతితయా నైవ శక్యతే స్థాతుం ।
ఉత్కంఠితాసి తరళే? నహి నహి సఖి పిచ్ఛిలః పంథాః ॥

"వాన కాలమున అపతితనై (పతి లేకుండ–పడకుండ) నిలద్రొక్కుకొనుట కష్టముగా నున్నది. ఓసీ! చపలా! భర్తయం దుత్కంఠ వహించితివా యేమి? ఎబ్బే, లేదే, దారి బురదగా నున్నది." – సాహిత్యదర్పణమున అపహ్నుతికి ఉదాహరణ మిచ్చి

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4. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy - The Dance of Shiva (P 66,-67).
5. శబ్దార్థ శాసన జ్ఞాన మాత్రేణైవ న వేద్యతే ।
వేద్యతే స తు కావ్యార్థ తత్త్వజ్ఞైరేవ కేవలమ్ ॥

— ధ్వన్యాలోకము 1–7.

6. తస్య చ కారణం కవిగతా కేవలా ప్రతిభా
సా చ కావ్యఘటనానుకూల శబ్దార్థోపస్థితిః.

— రసగంగాధరము.

7. Sāhitya Darpaṇa of Viśvanātha – (ed.) P. V. Kane, Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1923, (P-28) Śloka 38.

నాడు. ఇదొక సంభాషణ. ఇరువురు చెలికత్తెల మధ్య నడచినది. అది వాన కారు. దారి బురదగా నున్నది. ఒకామె కాలు జారినది. అప్పుడన్నది అపతితగా నుండుట కష్టమని. ఈ భావము రెండవది గ్రహించినది. అది పరేంగితజ్ఞ. 'చపలా' – ఇత్యాది వాక్యము నీ వన్నమాట కర్థము నాకు తెలియునులే యన్నట్లు. తన రహస్యము తెలిసిన దన్న విషయము – నహి నహి – యన్న తొట్రుపాటు మాటలో నున్నది. దానిని కప్పి పుచ్చుటకు చేసిన యత్నము తొట్రుపడుట దాచలేదు. ఇదంతయు నేపథ్యము. ఇదొక సన్నివేశము. దీని నా సంభాషణ వ్యంగ్య మొనర్చుచున్నది. నాట్యాయమాన మగుట యనగా నిది. విమర్శకుడా సన్నివేశ వివరణ చేసిన గాని సౌందర్యము తెలియదు. [8]ఇట్లే ఒక జాతి నిర్మించుకొన్న కళాదికము – ఆ జాతి జీవనవిధానసూత్రమును వ్యంగ్య మొనర్చును. దీనిని చూడక ఆ నేపథ్యము నుండి ఆ కావ్యాదికమును వేఱుచేసి మాటాడు వాడు కువిమర్శకుడు. కవి భావముతో సంవదించని హృదయము కలవాడు – సహృదయుడు కాని వాడు. ఒక కవి పుట్టి ఆ నేపథ్యముపై ఆధారపెట్టి కావ్యరచన చేసి ఆ సంప్రదాయ మునకు పులిగాపు పెట్టినట్లే ఒక విమర్శకుడును కళావ్యాఖ్యానము ద్వారా ఆ సంప్రదాయమును వ్యాఖ్యానించును. ఇదే విమర్శక విధి, ప్రయోజనమును. ఇది నెరవేర్చి యాతడు నేపథ్య మున కొదిగి పోవును.

కీ॥ శే॥ ఆనందకుమారస్వామి గారు చేసిన పని యిదే. ఆయన నాటికే భారతదేశ సంస్కృతి – జీవనవిధానము – నాగరకత – కళాదికము దుర్విమర్శల పాలైనవి.

[9]"After 300 A.D" says Mr. Vincent Smith, "Indian sculpture properly so called hardly deserves to be reckoned as Art. The figures both of men and animals become stiff and formal and the idea of power is clumsily expressed by the multiplication of members. The many headed, many armed gods and goddesses whose images crowd the walls and roofs of medieval temples have no pretentions to beauty and are frequently hideous and grotesque. "Sir George Birdwood considers that the monstrous shapes of the purāṇic deities are unsuitable for the higher forms of artistic representation; and this is possibly why sculpture and painting are unknown as fine arts in India." నాటి స్థితి కిది ప్రతీక. సూచకము. నాటి పాశ్చాత్యపండితు లందఱ దృష్టియు నింతే. ఇది కువిమర్శయని చెప్పి వాని వాని స్వస్వరూపమును స్థాపించినవాడు కుమారస్వామి. ఈ విమర్శలు చేసిన వారెవ్వరు?

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8. It is sometimes said that the Indians have left no history but what else than history is any work of traditional art? Of such art we can at least say that it is not a product of chance but is determined by antecedent racial Karma and cannot be detached from the life it expresses. No other evidence than this is needed to establish the magnificance of that old Hindu world that is vanishing before our eyes at the present days in a tornado of education and reform." Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Rajasthan Painting (PP. 14–15).

9. The Dance of Shiva (P-79).

చారిత్రకులు — భాషావేత్తలు — పండితులు తప్ప కళావ్యాఖ్యాతలు కారు. వీరినే భారతీయాలంకారికులు రసజ్ఞశూన్యములైన స్తంభ కుడ్యాదులతో పోల్చిరి. తార్కిక వైయాకరణాదులకు రసతత్త్వమంద దన్న దిందుకే.

వ్యాసతు సతు గౌతమతు వ్యాశేంద్రతు యస్య నాస్తి సాహిత్యం,
తంప్రతి సంప్రతి కంప్రతి శిరోమమ తిరశ్చన పురశ్చన.

(వ్యాసుడు కానిమ్ము, గౌతముడు కానిమ్ము, పతంజలి కానిమ్ము ఎవనికి సాహిత్య రసజ్ఞత లేదో వానిని గూర్చి నేను పట్టించుకొనను.) అన్న శ్లోకము ఒక సూచిక.

[10]పది తలల మనిషిని చెక్కినంత మాత్రాన కళకాదనుట యెట్టిది? కళాధర్మములను పురస్కరించుకొని చూచి చెప్పవలెనే కాని వస్తువునుబట్టి తిరస్కార పురస్కారాదులు చేయరాదు. అట్లైనచో ఆధునిక కళ కర్థములేదు. కాబట్టి త్యజించవలెనా? ఈ విమర్శకులు [11]Aesthetic — కాదని త్రోసిపుచ్చిరి. ఆమాట కర్థము భౌతిక సౌందర్యము — సుస్నిగ్ధత. ఇది నేత్ర విషయము. మనో విషయము కాదు. కళ మనోవిషయము, తదతీతము తప్ప భౌతికము కాదు. పై విమర్శకు లా విషయము చూడలేక చేసిన విమర్శలవి. ఇందుచే భారతీయ కళా సంప్రదాయ వ్యాఖ్యానము చేసి దానికి వ్యాప్తి కల్గించిన వాడు కుమారస్వామి. ఆ కళ ప్రతీక తప్ప వాస్తవికము కాదు. ఇది భౌతికము. లోతులేనిది. దీనిని కుమారస్వామి The Transformation of Nature in Art అన్న గ్రంథమున తీవ్రముగ నిరసించి ప్రతీకాత్మక కళాగౌరవమును స్థాపించెను. కళలో సౌందర్య — జుగుప్స యన్న మాట లేదు. దీనిని చెప్పు ధనంజయ శ్లోకమును కుమారస్వామి తన శివతాండవమున ఉదాహరించిరి. "రమ్యం జుగుప్సిత ముదార మథాపి నీచం............" అను శ్లోకము సుప్రసిద్ధమే. భారతీయ సౌందర్య దృష్టి విశాలము. అగాథము. నవరసాత్మకమగుట హేతువు. శృంగారము రసమే. బీభత్సమును రసమే. కేవల ఆనందరూపమది. ఇది కాదు. శాంతము రసమే. కరుణము రసమే. అది అత్యంత సుఖరూపము. ఇది అత్యంత దుఃఖరూపము. సర్వమును రసముగా — సర్వమున రసమును దర్శించువాడు ఋషి. కవి. ఈ దృష్టిలేని వాని కొకిబికి సిద్ధాంతము Aesthetic అనియు, realism అనియు చెప్పగా అది కళాస్వరూపము కాదన్నవాడు [12]కుమారస్వామి. అనగా భారతీయుడు.

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10. "Beauty does not arise from the subject of a work of Art but from the necessity that has been felt of representing that subject" Millet వాక్యాలుగా The Dance of Shiva గ్రంథమున నుదాహృతము.

11. Picasso వంటి ఆధునికులు beauty అన్నమాట అర్థరహితమన్నారు. ఇక్కడ అందమనగా భౌతికనేత్ర విషయము. (చూ. Life with Picasso వంటి గ్రంథాలు).

12. ఇందుచేతనే శ్రీ కుమారస్వామి గారొకచో నన్నారు. భారతీయుడు శిల్పి కావున చరిత్రను సైతము కవిత్వముచే చెప్పినాడు గాని కేవల చారిత్రకులట్లు శుష్కముగా నేకరువు పెట్టలేదని.

ఈమాట కర్థమేమనగా నతడే యన్నాడు – తనకొక ప్రత్యేకసిద్ధాంతము లేదనియు, తాను చెప్పునది అనాది సంప్రదాయ సిద్ధమైన మహావిషయమనియు, కళావిషయమందును కవి – శిల్పి యైనవాడు నూత్న సిద్ధాంతము చెప్పనక్కర లేదనియును. సంప్రదాయమే కవికి వస్తు విచ్చినది. ఇది భారతీయ మార్గము. ఆధునిక మార్గము వ్యతిరేకమై పోయినది. రాజస్థాన చిత్రలేఖనము – గోధూళి – బొమ్మను వ్యాఖ్యానించుచు నా మహానుభావుడన్నాడు. [13]"In this picture of the returning herd the Hindu adoration of cows and the local attachments of the village world – the elders gravely conversing, the girls gaily dressed, the piping herdsmen, the eager and pushing cows – 'the dim, the white, the black' – all are represented and all turns upon the presence of Krishna, who was known to the milk maids only as one of the young herdsmen. Thus the painter has communicated in his own language an intention identical with that of a little verse included in the Punjabi tale of Hīr and Rāñjhā —

> "When they troop home, our tiny street
> wear beauty like a diadem
> though mean enough before"

How fortunate the painter who was asked to express such ideas and who inherited a tradition of accomplishment and technical resource amply sufficient for his purpose! The modern artist is less happy for he is left to find and to solve his own problems. He is not asked to solve the problems of the race and he must spend half a life in finding for himself a suitable technique."

ఆధునికశిల్పి వ్యక్తిత్వప్రాధాన్యవాది. ప్రాచీనుడు సాంఘికసమన్వయవాది అగుట అతని శిల్పము విశ్వజనీనము. విశాలము. ఇందుచే నది జాతిసొత్తు. వ్యక్తి సంపద కాదు. ఇది సంప్రదాయము. ఆంగ్లపాలకులు దీని నర్థము చేసికొనలేక పోయి నందువల్ల ఆ మహా సంప్రదాయము చచ్చిపోయినదని వాపోయినాడు. అర్థము చేసికొనక పోవుటకు హేతువేమి? [14]"— the English in India who unconsciously created social confusion simply because they could not understand what they saw and endeavoured to fit a co-operative structure into the catagories of modern political theory." ఆ దేశము – సంఘము – మానవుడు – ప్రకృతి – ఈ సర్వమున కొక సమన్వయ మున్నది. ఆ సమన్వయము దర్శించినవాడు శిల్పి. వాని సూత్రము నర్థము చేసికొనక చెప్పువాడు దుర్విమర్శకుడు. భారతదేశ మాధ్యాత్మిక భావముపై నున్నది. ఆత్మతత్త్వముపై నాధారపడినది. దాని ద్వారా కళాదులను విమర్శించవలెను. తద్వ్యతిరేకముగా వ్రాయువాడా నేపథ్యమునకు తగడు [15]"I need not refer to the pseudo-Indian art of Ravivarma" అన్న వాక్యము దానికి

13. Rajasthan Painting (P-24).
14. The Dance of Shiva (P-175).
15. Rajasthan Painting (P-6).

సూచకము. ఒక మొక్క తదనుకూల వాతావరణమునందే బ్రతుకును. ఈ రెంటికి సమన్వయ మున్నది. ఇందుచే పై మాట విశిష్టసత్యము.

[16]ఈ దేశ సంప్రదాయమునకు వ్యతిరేకమైన – వాస్తవికతావాదము, కళ కళ కోసమే యన్నవాదము – కేవల భావనాజన్యములైన కళావాదములు. (అధివాస్తవికతా వాదము వంటివి) కేవలానుభవ పర్యవసితములు కాని ప్రతీకా సిద్ధాంతములు (Symbolic - Abstract Art) వీని కీ సంఘమున తావులేదు.

[17]"There are many ways of representing pastoral subjects. The secular fashion of watteaw who represents country life as a desirable environment for picnics – the noble realism of Millet who represents it as the field of labour and the transfiguring idealism of popular festivals and mystic art where everthing is perfected by loving imagination. The first is pretence, the second is an attitude of resignation, the third is the imitation of things as they ought to be. It is in this last way that the Vaishnava inspiration illumines the field and village life of Hindustan and discovers in every day events the image of events in heaven" మొదటిది కేవల సుఖలాలసమైన భౌతిక కళ. రెండవది గొప్పదే కాని భౌతికతను స్వర్గ మంటునట్లు పైకెగబ్రాకించ లేదు. మూడవది స్వర్గమర్త్య సమన్వయము. ఇదే భారతీయ కళాసూత్రము. దాని కా దేశ ఆధ్యాత్మికదృష్టి కారణము.

[18]"The life or lives of man may be regarded as constituting a curve, an arc of time experience subtended by the duration of the individual will to life. The outward movement on this curve – evolution, the path of permit – the Pravṛtti Mārga is characterised by self assertion.

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16. ఇవి అనుభవ రహితములు. ఆధ్యాత్మిక సమన్వయము లేని శుష్క ప్రజ్ఞాజన్యములు. కళ సాంఘికము కాని వైయక్తికము కాదు. ఇందుచే వీనికి విశ్వజనీనత లేదు భారతీయ కళ ప్రతీకాత్మకమే. కాని రూపమున్నది, ఇది వాచ్యార్థము. ఇది లేనిదే వ్యంగ్యార్థము లేదు. శివలింగము ప్రతీక. నటరాజ విగ్రహము ప్రతీక. కాని రూప–భావ సమన్వితము. కాన రసానంద హేతువు. Surrealism - Symbolism లో ఇది లేదు. ప్రతీక వేరు. వ్యంజకము వేరు. ప్రతీకాశబ్దము లింగము. కళాశబ్దము వ్యంజకము. ధ్వన్యాలోకాదులు శబ్దలింగత్వమును నిరసించినవి. కారణము అది రసవిహీనము కాన. కళ కేవల ప్రజ్ఞాజన్యము కాదు. ఇందుకే కేవల వాస్తవికతా వాదులైన కమ్యూనిష్టులను – "but Abstract Art (and Surrealism too) is also a mistake, not the personal mistake of a few misguided artists, but the historically conditioned error of many artistically gifted natures of our time; educated in the conditions of a deepening crisis of the capitalist social system." – The Humanism of Art (P-77).

17. Rajasthan Painting (P-24).

18. The Dance of Shiva (P-11).

The inward movement – involution, the path of return – the Nivṛtti Mārga. The religion of men on the outward path is the religion of time, the religion of these who return is the religion of eternity. If we consider life as one whole, certainly self-realization must be regarded as its eventual purpose from the beginning..... ...... The Brāhmin therefore not with standing the austere rule appointed for themselves held that an ideal human society must provide for the enjoyment of all pleasures by those who wish for them " ఈ ప్రవృత్తి నివృత్తి మార్గములే ప్రాచీన వైదిక వాఙ్మయమున యజ్ఞశబ్దమున నిర్దేశితములు. ఈ సమన్వయము కళ. ఇందుకే భారతీయకళకు వాస్తవికతాది నామములు తగవు. (ఈ మాట Herbert Read మహాశయుడు గుర్తించినాడు. చూడుడు. The coat of many colours. దీనికి కారణము కుమారస్వామి రచనలే. భారతీయకళ కంత వ్యాప్తితెచ్చిన మహాత్ముడాయన.) ఈ బృహత్ప్రణాళికా జీవనవిధానమున అర్థకామములును పురుషార్థములే. కామపురుషార్థవిషయము ఆ దేశ వివాహవ్యవస్థను బట్టి. ఇది తెలియక ఆ కళ అర్థము కాదు. ఇందుకే [19]రసజ్ఞుడు "The Hindu marriages contemplates identity and not equality. The primary motiff of marriage is not merely individual satisfaction but the achievement of puruṣārtha, the purpose of life and the wife is spoken of as Sahadharmacāriṇī."[20] దీని కాధార వాక్య మిది యని పుట 174లో నిచ్చెను. "The man is not the man alone, he is the man, the woman and the progeny. The sages have declared that the husband is the same as the wife."[21]

"A religious ideal of marriage where the duties of the home are a woman's vocation, is the Hindu social norm, the centre upon which all family honour depends and the very basis of social stability. It is necessary to realize this spiritual status of wifehood if the complex motiff of the Krishnalīlā are to be rightly understood for these can have no meaning where the ties of duty are regarded lightly. The Indian marriage is a matter of religious and social duty, a debt that all owe and all should pay. There is little done choice either of wife or husband and therefore little courtship. What each expects from marriage is primarily pleasure but the development of character in the fulfilment of normal duties. That two persons are then united for purposes beyond their own immediate gratification is probably the reason that the Indian marriage

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19. వేయి పడగలలో జమీందారు రంగారావు ధర్మపత్ని, – సహధర్మచారిణి నన్న జ్ఞానము కల సరోజినీదేవిని కాదని హూణవనితలను తెచ్చుకొనెనన్న కథాంశ రహస్య మిక్కడున్నది, "వివాహము భౌతిక సుఖైక విధానమనుకొని పతివ్రతయైన సరోజినీ దేవిని చంపుకొన్నాడు జమీందారు," (చూడుడు. 9వ అధ్యాయము).

20. The Dance of Shiva (P-18).

21. మనుస్మృతి (9–45).

in general happier than the European marriage of free choice. The glamour which attaches in Europe to romantic love and courtship, in India illumines the experience of wifehood "[22]

ఇది కళలో శృంగార రసబీజము. ఈ జీవేశ్వరసంయోగమే కళలో సంయోగ శృంగార సూత్రము. ఇది దర్శించలేక కామకళ దుర్వ్యాఖ్యానము చేయుట అటు ప్రాచీన భారతీయ సంప్రదాయాధ్యాత్మికతను — ఇటు ఆధునికమన స్తత్త్వశాస్త్రమును తలచి చూడ లేక పోవుట. ఆ ఆధ్యాత్మిక సంఘమందు భౌతిక కామమునకు, పురుషార్థముకాని కామ మునకు (ఇది భౌతిక యాంత్రిక సంఘలక్షణము) తావు లేదు. ఇందుచే కామమును భౌతికముగా — సుందరముగా — తాత్త్వికముగా వ్యాఖ్యానించవచ్చు. కాని ఆర్షసంఘమున మూడవది ప్రథమము. లౌకిక సంఘమున మొదటిది రెండవదియు. కళ దానిని దీనిని సమన్వయించును. ఇది శృంగార రసము. ఈ దృష్టితో కృష్ణలీలలు వ్యాఖ్యాతము లైనవి. రాధాకృష్ణ సంయోగము జీవేశ్వర — భౌతికాధ్యాత్మిక పదార్థము. ప్రకృతి పురుష సంయోగ ప్రతీక. ప్రతీక తప్ప వాచకము కాదు. దానికి వాచ్యార్థము లేదు. ప్రతీకా — వ్యంగ్యార్థములకు వాచ్యార్థము చెప్పువాడు భౌతికుడు. దుర్వ్యాఖ్యాత. కువిమర్శకుడు. (కుకవినిందాసంప్రదాయ మిందుకే తెలుగుకవి పాటించినాడు). పురుషార్థదృష్టి. బృహత్తమము. దివ్యము. కామమును పవిత్రమే.

"కామస్తదగ్రే సమవర్తతాధి మనసో రేతః ప్రథమం యదాసీత్"

— ఋగ్వే. 10–129.4.

సృష్టికి పూర్వము ప్రజాపతి మనస్సులో నున్న భావము కామము. విశ్వనాథ మహాకవి —

"మఱల సృష్టిపొనర్చు మహిత ప్రాతర్వేళ
బ్రహ్మదేవుని యూహవంటి వాడు'

— బాల — కల్యాణఖండము.

పై పవిత్ర భావమునే 'కల్పవృక్షము'లో నిట్లు వర్ణించెను. స్త్రీ పురుష సమన్వయము, సంయోగము భౌతిక మనుకొనుటలో శృంగార రసము చచ్చిపోయినది. దుర్వ్యాఖ్యానములు బయలుదేరినవి. భాగవతకథలు, భారతీయ కామశిల్పము దుర్మేధా వ్యాఖ్యాతము లగుట సహించని సంప్రదాయాత్మ పై రీతి సమాధానము చెప్పినది.

దాంపత్యమున సమానతకంటె సమన్వయమున కెట్లు ప్రాధాన్యమో, యట్లే సంఘమున ఈ దృష్టితో వర్ణవ్యవస్థ యున్నదని — చూడవలెనని — కుమారస్వామి "భారత దేశము ప్రపంచమున కిచ్చినదేమి?" — యన్న వ్యాసమున పాశ్చాత్య వక్ర భాష్యమును ఖండించి — [23]"The system of caste is designed rather to unite than to divide.

22. Rajasthan Painting (P-26).

23. The Dance of Shiva, pp. 18, 19.

in general happier than the European marriage of free choice. The glamour which attaches in Europe to romantic love and courtship, in India illumines the experience of wifehood "[22]

ఇది కళలో శృంగార రసబీజము. ఈ జీవేశ్వరసంయోగమే కళలో సంయోగ శృంగార సూత్రము. ఇది దర్శించలేక కామకళ దుర్వ్యాఖ్యానము చేయుట అటు ప్రాచీన భారతీయ సంప్రదాయాధ్యాత్మికతను – ఇటు ఆధునికమన స్తత్త్వశాస్త్రమును తఱచి చూడ లేక పోవుట. ఆ ఆధ్యాత్మిక సంఘమందు భౌతిక కామమునకు, పురుషార్థముకాని కామమునకు (ఇది భౌతిక యాంత్రిక సంఘలక్షణము) తావు లేదు. ఇందుచే కామమును భౌతికముగా – సుందరముగా – తాత్త్వికముగా వ్యాఖ్యానించవచ్చు. కాని ఆర్షసంఘమున మూడవది ప్రథమము. లౌకిక సంఘమున మొదటిది రెండవదియు. కళ దానిని దీనిని సమన్వయించును. ఇది శృంగార రసము. ఈ దృష్టితో కృష్ణలీలలు వ్యాఖ్యాతము లైనవి. రాధాకృష్ణ సంయోగము జీవేశ్వర – భౌతికాధ్యాత్మిక పదార్థము. ప్రకృతి పురుష సంయోగ ప్రతీక. ప్రతీక తప్ప వాచకము కాదు. దానికి వాచ్యార్థము లేదు. ప్రతీకా – వ్యంగ్యార్థములకు వాచ్యార్థము చెప్పువాడు భౌతికుడు. దుర్వ్యాఖ్యాత. కువిమర్శకుడు. (కుకవినిందాసంప్రదాయ మిందుకే తెలుగుకవి పాటించినాడు). పురుషార్థదృష్టి. బృహత్తమము. దివ్యము. కామము పవిత్రమే.

"కామస్తదగ్రే సమవర్తతాధి మనసో రేతః ప్రథమం యదాసీత్"

— ఋగ్వే. 10–129.4.

సృష్టికి పూర్వము ప్రజాపతి మనస్సులో నున్న భావము కామము. విశ్వనాథ మహాకవి –

"మటల సృష్టిపొనర్చు మహిత ప్రాతర్వేళ
బ్రహ్మదేవుని యూహవంటి వాడు'

— బాల – కళ్యాణఖండము.

పై పవిత్ర భావమునే 'కల్పవృక్షము'లో నిట్లు వర్ణించెను. స్త్రీ పురుష సమన్వయము, సంయోగము భౌతిక మనుకొనుటలో శృంగార రసము చచ్చిపోయినది. దుర్వ్యాఖ్యానములు బయలుదేరినవి. భాగవతకథలు, భారతీయ కామశిల్పము దుర్మేధా వ్యాఖ్యాతము లగుట సహించని సంప్రదాయాత్మ పై రీతి సమాధానము చెప్పినది.

దాంపత్యమున సమానతకంటె సమన్వయమున కెట్లు ప్రాధాన్యమో, యట్లే సంఘమున ఈ దృష్టితో వర్ణవ్యవస్థ యున్నదని – చూడవలెనని – కుమారస్వామి "భారత దేశము ప్రపంచమున కిచ్చినదేమి?" – యన్న వ్యాసమున పాశ్చాత్య వక్ర భాష్యమును ఖండించి – [23]"The system of caste is designed rather to unite than to divide.

22. Rajasthan Painting (P-26).

23. The Dance of Shiva, pp. 18, 19.

Men of different castes have more in common than men of different classes It is an Industrial Democracy, and where a system of secular education prevails that groups of men are effectually separated; a western professor and a many do not understand each other half so well as a Brāhmin and a Śūdra. It has been justly remarked that 'the lowest paraiah hanging to the skirts of Hindu society is in a sense as much the disciple of the Brāhmin ideal as any priest himself – Western society has never been so highly organized, but in so far as it was organized its disintegration has proceeded much further than is yet the case in India.

[24]పోటీని తొలగించి ప్రతివ్యక్తికి జీవనభద్రతార్హతలు కల్పించిన సంఘము భారతీయమొక్కటే నని అభిప్రాయపడినాడు. ఇది తాత్త్విక దృష్టితో చూడదగినది. ఆధునికుడు రాజకీయదృష్టితో చూచినాడు. బొమ్మ తలక్రిందైనది. 'ప్రపంచమొక మహా నాటకము. జీవితము నాటకము. అందనేక పాత్రలు.' – ఈ వాక్యము దుర్వ్యాఖ్యాతమైనది. నాటకము, నటించుట – ఈ మాటలకు విపరీతార్థములు పుట్టినవి. ఇది భౌతిక (secular) సంఘ దుర్మేధావిలాసము. నాటకము వ్యంగ్యార్థమున నుండును. కావ్య జీవితము వ్యంగ్యవైభవము. దానికి వాచ్యార్థము లేదు. ఇందుకే ఆ సంఘమొక మహాభావ సంకేతము. ఇది పై రచనసారము.

ఈ దృష్టితో భారతీయ కళా సంప్రదాయమును వ్యాఖ్యానింపవలెను. చేసినవాడు రసజ్ఞుడు. వ్యతిరేకదృష్టి వక్రదృష్టి. వక్రత కావ్యార్థమున నున్నట్టిది. నేత్రమున కతికించుకొని చూచుట దుర్విమర్శక లక్షణము.

మ : ము – కళ రెండు నొకపనిని నిర్వహించును. కాని, మార్గములు భిన్నములు. సాధనాభేదము తప్ప సాధ్యభేదము లేదు.

[25]Religion and art are thus names for one and the same experience and intuition of reality and of identity.

ఈ సిద్ధాంతమునకు పోషకముగా కుమారస్వామి పాశ్చాత్యసిద్ధాంతము లనేకము లుదాహరించెను. పాశ్చాత్యములే కాదు. చైనాదేశ సిద్ధాంతమును. మానవాభ్యున్నతి కొక సాధనము కళ. సర్వప్రపంచమునకు సత్తామాత్రమైన 'సద్దర్శనము' కళాధ్యేయము.

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24. ఈ విషయమునకై చూ – Manu Dharma Śāstra – A Study
— K. Motwani
Indian Culture and Society
— Swami Vivekananda
'వేయి పడగ' లందు 'రామేశ్వరంస్వామి' పాత్ర కర్థ మిదే. "ఆయన వర్ణాశ్రమ ధర్మము లన్నియు ముద్దకట్టినమూర్తి. ఆయన భారతదేశముయొక్క ఆత్మ. ఆయన తయీవిద్య కొక వ్యాఖ్యానము."

25. The Dance of Shiva, p. 41.

ఇందుచేతనే కేవల వాస్తవికతాదులకు స్థానము లేదు. వాస్తవికము భౌతికము. దీని కాంతరసత్వ మాధారము. అది పారమార్థిక సత్యము. పదార్థసత్యము మార్పునకు లోనగునది. దీనికోసమే కళానిర్వచనముగా Erose చెప్పిన 'expression is art' వాక్యము నుదాహరించి, స్వామి [26]"A mere statement, however, completely expressive such as 'The man walks' or '$(a+b)^2 = a^2+2ab+b^2$' is not art. Poetry is indeed a kind of sentence. But what kind of sentence? A sentence ensouled by rasa." మనిషి నడచుచున్నాడన్న మాట వాస్తవికతావాద కళ. రెండవది రూపరహితకళ. వాక్యం రసాత్మకం కావ్యమ్. మూడవది భారతీయ నిర్వచనము. ఇది మతతత్త్వాధార విషయము. ఇది కేవల ప్రతీకాకళ కాదు. వాస్తవికము కాదు. అదొక రసవ్యంజకకళ.

'Our Lord is the Dancer, who like the heat latent in fire-wood diffuses. His power in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn.'

'The dance in fact represents his (Śiva's) five activities. Chidambaram is every where; every where his dance.'

'As Shiva is all and omnipresent, He dances with Water, Fire, Wind, Ether. Thus our Lord dances ever in the court.'

[27]'The dancing foot – the sound of twinkling bells – the songs that are sung and the varying steps – find out these with in yourself, then shall your fetters fall away'.

ఇది నటరాజు శిల్పసూత్రము. ఇందుకే ఆ బొమ్మ తత్త్వము ప్రాణశక్తి. సర్వపదార్థాంతరస్పందము. దానినుండి జగత్తు కదలుచున్నది. జగదంతర్యామి తత్త్వము. జగచ్చాలన శక్తి యొక మహానాట్యము. ప్రవృత్తి – నివృత్తిరూప మహాయజ్ఞ మొక వృత్తాకార–మండలాకార నాట్యము. ఇది సత్యములకు సత్యము. ఈ దర్శనము నటరాజ శిల్పము. తత్త్వము–కళ–లోకము ఈ త్రిపుటికి సమన్వయరూప మా శిల్పము. అంతకంటె కళాశబ్ద వాచ్యమైన బొమ్మ త్రిలోకముల నుండదు. ఉండుటకు వీలులేదు. త్రిపుటికంటె నన్యము లేదు కావున.

[28]The essential significance of Shiva's dance is three fold. First it is the image of his rhythmic play as the source of all movement within the cosomos, which is represented by the Arch; secondly the purpose of

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26. Ibid.
27. The Dance of Shiva, p. 72.
28. Ibid. pp. 76–77.

his dance is to release the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion. Thirdly the place of the dance, Chidambaram the centre of the Universe, is within the art.

ఇదొక ఆంతరవిద్య. దీని నుండి కళ రూపురేఖలు దిద్దుకొనుచున్నది ఇతర కళలును ఇంతే. అనగా కావ్యాదులు.

[29]'The Rāmāyaṇa tells howmany a righteous life may approach to a nearer union with the Lord. The Krishna Līlā explains the very nature of union accomplished'.

[30]ఈ నిర్గుణమైన ఆధ్యాత్మిక సత్యమునుండి కళ పుట్టినది. కావున నది నిదాన కళ. ప్రతీకాకళ. ఈ ప్రతీక సగుణము. నీరూపము కాదు. ఐనపుడు భౌతికాంతర సమన్వయము లేదు. వ్యక్తి రెంటి కలయిక కాని, యే యొకటియు కాదు. సత్యము ఆంతరము. ఆది సూత్రము. శరీరము భౌతికము. ఆత్మశరీర సమన్వయమూర్తి వ్యక్తి. కావున శబ్దార్థ సమన్వయము కళ. కేవల శబ్దము (Realism, Naturalism), కేవలార్థము (Surrealism, Abstract symbolism) కళ కాదు. పదార్థ(శక్తి), పరమార్థ(శివ) సమ్మేళనము–సంయోగము కళ. ఇందుకే ఆ మహాత్ము డన్నాడు: [31]The doctrine of the universal presence of reality is that of the immanence of the absolute. It is constant with a view of the world as absolute māyā or utterly unreal, but it implies that through the falsehood of every day experience may be seen by of penetrating vision glimpses of the real substrata. This world is the formless as we perceive it, the unknowable as we know it.' ఇట్లు ఒక కళాసూత్రదర్శనము చేసి, ఆ సంఘస్వరూప స్వభావాదు లన్వేషించి, దాని దృష్టితో నిర్మించుకొన్న కళాదికమును, ఆ దేశ మతాదికమునుండి విచ్ఛేదించి వేఱుచేసి చూడక – విగ్రహమును గర్భాలయమందుంచి చూడక [చూచినపుడు భక్తి–ముక్తి–రక్తి–(కళ)]– వస్తుప్రదర్శన శాలలందుంచి చూచినట్లు (ఇది వాస్తుశాస్త్రజ్ఞులు, చారిత్రకులు, సాంఘిక శాస్త్రజ్ఞుల పని) ఆ చట్రమందుంచి వ్యాఖ్యానించినాడు. అతడు సహృదయుడు.

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29. Rajasthan Painting, p. 27, see foot note.

30. Abhinava claimed that the consummation of all these ends (చతుర్విధ పురుషార్థాలు) was a poetic relish and conversely, poetic experience could achieve the ultimate of all these goals through its own modality. The paramount humanistic significance of such any integration struck me even more forcefully when I found T.S. Eliot in the "Four Quarters" struggling with the problem of reconciling the demands of action in this world and of poetic experience. He misunderstands the latter as demanding withdrawal from life and he goes to the extent of claiming that his views are identical with 'what Krishna meant' in the Gītā which is a part of Vyāsa's great epic Mahā Bhārata — Indian Poetics – p. X.

31. The Dance of Shiva, p. 42.

"యన్ముఖంబునఁ జెప్పిరో యల్ల దాని
తన్ముఖంబునఁ జూచిన ధర్మమొప్ప" — రామాయణ కల్పవృక్షము.

అప్పు డాతని బాధ్యత తీరిపోయినది. ఆతడు నేపథ్యమున కొదిగిపోవు సూత్రధారుడు. ఆత డొదిగినంత, మనము కళాదర్శనము చేసి నూత్నోత్తేజము నందుదుము. ఇట్లు కాక, కళను వదలి తన్ను చూడమనువాడు కువిమర్శకుడు. విమర్శ అనుభవజన్యము తప్ప కేవల కుతర్కము కాదు.

'[32]The critic as soon as he becomes an exponent has to prove his case, and he cannot do this by any process of argument, but only by creating a new work of Art – the criticism His audience catching the gleam through him but still the same gleam, for there is only one - has then the opportunity to approach the original work a second time more reverently.'

అట్లు సూత్రధారుడై సహృదయశేఖరుడు (ఆనందవర్ధనుని కిది బిరుదుగా శ్రీమదభినవు లన్నమాట) భారతీయ కళా–మత–సంఘాది సర్వమును వ్యాఖ్యానించి ప్రపంచ దృష్టి నటు మళ్లించి తాను తెరలోని కొదిగిన రసజ్ఞుడు తన చరిత్రను చెప్పుకొనలేదు[33] వ్రాయుదునన్న వారిని కాదనెను. ఎంతటి కళాతపస్వి![34]

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32. The Dance of Shiva, p. 52.

33. 'I am not at all interested in biographical matter relating to myself and that I consider the modern practice of publishing details about the lives is nothing but a vulgar catering to illegitimate erosity. I wish to remain in the background and shall not be grateful or flattered by any details about myself or my life; all that is anicchhā (అనిచ్ఛా) and as the wisdom of India should have taught your 'portraiting of human beings is asvargya'. All this is not a matter of modesty but one of principle.

(Letter to Mr. Durairaj Singham, 1946, May).

34. ఈ ఋషిరసజ్ఞుని వ్యాఖ్యానము చూచి ప్రపంచము మఱియొకసారి భారతీయ కళాతత్త్వమునకు గౌరవపురస్సరముగా సభక్తికముగా సమర్చన లిచ్చినది. ఉదాహరణముగా 'The Golden Germ' అన్న గ్రంథము. అదొక డచ్ పండితుని రచన. భారతీయ కళ ప్రతీకాత్మకమని చెప్పిన కుమారస్వామి గారి దృష్టితో నా గ్రంథము వ్రాయఁబడెనని పీఠికలో కర్త.

Sri K.J. KRISHNAMOORTHY

శివకవి శేషనాథుడు - శ్రీశైలఖండము

"అందరొాకెత్తు అగస్త్యుడొాకయెత్తు" అనినట్లు ఆంధ్రవాఙ్మయప్రపంచమున శివకవుల దొాక ప్రత్యేకత. ఆ ప్రత్యేకతకు ప్రధాన హేతువు వారి మతాభినివేశము. 'పశుపతి స్సర్వదేవప్రకృష్టః' అనెడి పరిపూర్ణ విశ్వాసముతో, పరమశివునకు, ఆదేవుని భక్తులకు సంబంధించిన గాథలనే కావ్యవస్తువులుగా గైకొని కృతులు వెలయించిన సుకృతులు శివకవులు. ఇతివృత్తములో దేశీయత, భాషలో సజీవవ్యావహారికత, భావనలో శివభక్తి తత్పరత — ఇవి శివకవుల సాహిత్యమునకు సహజాలంకారములు.

ప్రజానీకమున శివభక్తిప్రబోధమే వారల ప్రధానోద్దేశమైనను, ఆ లక్ష్యసిద్ధికి వారవలంబించిన వివిధ రచనారీతుల దోహదముల మూలముగా తెనుగు సారస్వత తరువునందలి 'దేశి'శాఖ మధురాతిమధుర కావ్యఫలములను కోకొల్లలుగా ప్రసాదించినది.

రచనారంగమును ఉద్యమస్ఫూర్తిచే ప్రభావితమొనరించి, తెలుగు భాషాసారస్వతములకు కొంగ్రొత్త ఊర్జస్వితను, ఉత్తేజమును కల్గించిన ఈ శివకవిశేఖరులలో నన్నెచోడదేవుడు, మల్లికార్జున పండితారాధ్యుడు, పాలకురికి సోమనాథుడు అగ్రగణ్యులు. ఈ ముప్వురును 'శివకవిత్రయ'మని చెప్పదగిన మహాకవులు. ఆ కవీశ్వరుల అడుగుజాడలలో పయనించి కృతకృత్యులయిన కవులలో యథావాక్కుల అన్నమయ్య, పిడుపర్తివంశకవులు మున్నగువారు పేర్కొనదగియున్నారు. ఆ శ్రేణికే చేరిన మఱియొక మహాకవి నాగలూటి శేషనాథుడు.

శేషనాథార్యుడు శ్రీపర్వతపాదమందుగల నాగలూటి క్షేత్రనివాసి. క్రీ.శ. పదునైదవ శతాబ్ది యితని కాలము,[1] శ్రీగిరి నిలయుడగు మల్లికార్జునదేవు డీతని యిష్టదైవము. ఆ

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1. విజయనగర రాజగు అచ్యుతదేవరాయల ('530–'42)కు సమకాలికుడుగా నిరూపింపబడిన భద్రకవి లింగకవి, దేవాంగపురాణమను ద్విపదకావ్యములో పూర్వకవులను

ఖిలువేల్పునం దితనికి గల భక్తి పుట్టుకతోనే అలవడినది. అది తన అక్షరాభ్యాస కాలము నాటి పంచాక్షరీ పఠనముచే ప్రబుద్ధమై, కాలక్రమేణ అద్వితీయముగా పొంపిరివోయినది :

నావారుం గడుఁ జిన్నిప్రాయమున నోనామఃకులుం బ్రేమతో
శివాయఃకులుఁ జెప్ప, నాటఁగొలె నే సేవింతు నీయాన; నా
భావంబందున నిన్నె యెన్నుదును, నన్ భ్రాజద్భవద్భక్తి స
ద్భావజ్ఞాన సుధానుభావరతుఁగా భావింపు మల్లీశ్వరా! 1 — 14.

ఉద్వేలమైన ఈ శివభక్తితన్మయత్వమే, యీ కవి జీవితవిశేషములను — కనీసము తల్లి దండ్రులపేళ్లను సైతము — పేర్కొననీయక సంయమము వహింపజేసినది. శేషనాథు డవతారికలో తననుగూర్చి

'శివజన్ముఁడ, శివగోత్రుఁడ
శివలింగధ్యానరతుఁడ, శివవ్రతుఁడన్
శివపూజా పరతంత్రుఁడ
శివయోగసుధానుభవుఁడ శేషాహ్వయుఁడన్. 1 — 18.

అని యొక చిన్నిపద్యమున వచించినాడు. ఇందువలన మన కీతని పేరు మాత్రమే తెల్ల మైనది. ఆంధ్రకవితరంగిణీకారు డనినటుల 'ఎట్లో తనపేరును జెప్పుకొనుట కంగీక రించుటచే నీతని పేరైన తెలియవచ్చినది. కాని యిది కూడ శివనామముతో జెప్పినచో మన కీతడెవ్వరో తెలియక యీగ్రంథమొక యనామధేయ కవి ప్రణీతంబని చెప్పుకొనవలసి వచ్చును.'[2]

ప్రాచీనులగు శివకవులలో పెక్కురు ఆరాధ్యశైవులై యున్నందునను, ఈ గ్రంథమునకు వెలసిన వ్రాతప్రతులలో కొన్నింట ఆశ్వాసాంతగద్యలలో 'శేషనారాధ్యప్రణీ తంబైన' అని లిఖింపబడియుండుటచేతను, కందుకూరి వీరేశలింగంపంతులు మున్నగువా రీతని నారాధ్యునిగా భావించిరి.[3] కాని, పెక్కుప్రతులలో 'శివయోగిగణవర్య శేషనాథార్య ప్రణీతంబైన' అనియే కన్పట్టుచుండుటచేతను, ఆశ్వాసాంతగద్యకు సహజమగు అనుప్రాస అందు కుదిరియుండుటచేతను. ఈతడు శేషనాథార్యుడే గాని, శేషనారాధ్యుడు కాడని విదిత మగుచున్నది.

స్తుతించుచు, 'శివకులాంబుధిచంద్రు శేషయోగీంద్రుఁ,
ప్రవిమలభక్తి సంభావించి కొలిచి' — అని శేషనాథుని కొనియాడి యున్నాడు. కావున శేషనాథు డంతకు పూర్వుడనుట స్పష్టము.

2. ఆంధ్రకవి తరంగిణి Vol. - 9, P-19.

3. ఆంధ్రకవుల చరిత్రము, తృతీయ భాగము, P-171.
వీరశైవాంధ్రవాఙ్మయము, P-203.

పై పద్యమున నితడు 'శివయోగసుధానుభవుడ' అని చెప్పుకొనియుండుటను బట్టి, ఈ గ్రంథమున ఆ యాసందర్భములలో నీతడు మిగుల నభినివేశముతో వర్ణించిన యోగశాస్త్ర విషయములను బట్టియు, గద్యమందలి 'శివయోగిగణవర్య' అను విశేషణమును బట్టియు, లింగకవి యితనిని 'శేషయోగీంద్రు' అని నుతించియుండుటవలనను, ఈ కవి శైవ సంప్రదాయానుసారియైన యోగీశ్వరుడుగా ఆ కాలమున ప్రసిద్ధిగాంచియుండినట్లు తెలియ గలము.

ఈ 'విరక్త శివయోగి' పూర్వకవుల నెవ్వరిని పేర్కొనపోయినను,[4] కవితాకళను కొనియాడు సందర్భమున నాలుగు పద్యములలో నాగరకముగా కుకవి నిరాసము గావించి యున్నాడు. కవితాప్రశంసలో నీతడు సంస్కృతాంధ్రభాషలను గూర్చి వెలిబుచ్చిన యభి ప్రాయములు ఇట ముఖ్యముగా గమనింపదగియున్నవి :

1. తెనుఁగైన నేమి ? కవితా
   జనితాలంకార చిత్రసంగతపద వ
   ర్ణన వచన రచన చతురత
   విన యోగ్యంబైన కృతియ వింద్రు మహాత్ముల్. 1 _ 24.

2. భూషణ లీలల దేశ వి
   భాషలు తత్తత్ప్రదేశ భాసురములగున్;
   భూషించు వస్త్ర మట్ల సు
   భాషితమై సంస్కృతంబు బహుదేశములన్. 1 _ 26.

3. జనని సమస్తభాషలకు సంస్కృతభాష ధరాతలంబునన్,
   ఘన లలితార్థ గౌరవవికాసి తెనుం గభిరమ్యమంతకున్;
   గనుఁగొనఁ జాతబీజమునకంటెను గోమల పత్రపుష్ప శో
   భన నవపల్లవాభినవ బాలరసాలము సొంపు నింపదే ? 1 _ 27.

ఇందు మొదటిది తెనుగును ఈసడించువారి నుద్దేశించి పల్కిన ప్రతివచనము. ఇట్లు తెనుగు దేశమున, తెనుగు కవులు, తెలుగుభాషను గూర్చి, తెలుగు కృతులలో సమర్థింపవలసివచ్చు టనెడు దౌర్భాగ్యము ఇంచుమించు ప్రబంధయుగావతరణము వఱకు కొనసాగినది ! పిమ్మట, 'ఆంధ్రనాయకుడు' 'ఆంధ్రభోజుని' కలలో కన్పించి, 'దేశంబు తెలుఁగు; ఏను తెలుఁగువల్లభుండ; తెలుఁగొ కండ !' అని హెచ్చరించుటతో తెనుగు మహిమ మునుపటికన్న అధికముగా, స్వతంత్రముగా తేజరిల్లగల్గినది.

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4. అవతారికలో నితడిష్టదైవమగు శ్రీశైలమల్లికార్జునుని, స్వగ్రామమందు నెలకొన్న తోట వీరభద్రుని, వీరశైవమత స్థాపకుడగు 'వృషాధ్యక్షుని' మాత్రమే స్తుతించి యున్నాడు.

ఇక, రెండవది, దేశభాషలపై సంస్కృతమునకు గల ప్రభావమును, ప్రాధాన్యమును నూత్నరీతిలో భంగ్యంతరముగా నుడువుచున్నది.

మూడవ పద్యమున 'తల్లి సంస్కృతంబె యెల్ల భాషలకును'[5] అనెడు ప్రాచీనాభిప్రాయమే ఉట్టంకితమయినను, కవి దానిని సమర్థించిన తీరు మాత్రము కడు నవీనము. ఇది తెనుగుసొంపును అభిరమ్యముగా తేటపఱచుచున్నది.

ఇట్టి నిర్దిష్టాభిప్రాయములుగల ఈ శివకవి రచియించిన ఏకైక కృతి శ్రీశైలఖండము. కవి దీనిని 'శ్రీశైలమాహాత్మ్య' మని 'శ్రీపర్వత పురాణ' మని పేర్కొనినను, స్కాందపురాణాంతర్గతమగు శ్రీశైలఖండము ఇందుల కాధారమగుటచే, లోకమున దీనికి శ్రీశైలఖండమనియే ప్రసిద్ధ వ్యవహారము.[6]

ఈ మాహాత్మ్య కావ్యమున ఆఱాశ్వాసములు గలవు. కవి యిందలి కథను షష్ఠ్యంతముల యనంతర మొకవచనమున సంక్షేపముగ నిచ్చియున్నాడు తత్సారాంశమిది ;

శిలాదుడను మునీంద్రుడు పుత్రార్థియై పెక్కేండ్లు తపము చేయును. మహాదేవుడాతని తీవ్రతపమునకు మెచ్చి, నందీశ్వరుడు, పర్వతుడు — అను ఇరువురు కుమారుల ననుగ్రహించును. అయోనిసంభవులు, శివధర్మపరాయణులు నైన ఆ యిర్వురు సుతులును అత్యుగ్ర తపములచే ఈశ్వరుని మెప్పించి వరములు వడయుదురు. అందు ప్రమథాధిపత్యము, శంకరునకు వాహనత్వము — అనునవి నంది పొందిన వరములు. ముజ్జగములలోని పుణ్యతీర్థములు, పుణ్యపర్వతములు తనమీద మూర్తిమంతములై యుండుట, పరమశివుడు సకలదేవతా సమేతుడై 'పర్వతలింగ' నామమున తన శిరముపై సదా సన్నిహితుడై యుండుట — అనునవి పర్వతుడు వడసిన వరములు.

బ్రహ్మవరమువలన 'శ్రీదేవి' యను నామము దాల్చిన వసుమతియను మునికన్య యొక్క ఉనికివలన పర్వతము 'శ్రీపర్వత' మను పేర బరగుట, కార్తికాది మాసములయందు శ్రీపర్వతేశ్వరుని సేవించుటవలన గలుగు ఫలములు, శ్రీశైలమునందలి ఆ యా తీర్థముల, నదుల మహిమలు, శ్రీగిరియొక్క చతుర్ద్వారములు, అందలి విశేషములు—ఈ చెప్పిన కథాంశము లన్నియు తొలి మూడాశ్వాసములలో నున్నవి.

చతుర్థాశ్వాసమున, శ్రీగిరీశునకు మల్లికార్జును డనెడి నామధేయము గల్గుటకు కారణమైన వృత్తాంతము వర్ణింపబడినది. శ్రీశైల పార్శ్వమందలి చంద్రగుప్తినగరమునకు రాజు చంద్రగుప్తుడు. ఆతని కూతురు చంద్రవతి. ఆయువతి యందచందములకు ముగ్ధుడై

5. ఆంధ్రభాషా భూషణము (కేతన).

6. శ్రీనాథుని భీమేశ్వరపురాణమునకు భీమఖండమను ప్రసిద్ధి యున్నట్లు.

కన్నతండ్రియే యామెను మోహింపగా, చంద్రవతి సఖీజనసహితయై శ్రీగిరి కరుగును. అట పర్వతలింగమును మల్లికాపుష్పములతో పూజించి, ఆ రాజపుత్రి తన గానవిద్యా విలాసముచే ఆ భక్తవత్సలుని ప్రసన్నుని గావించుకొనును. అట్లు, అర్జునవర్ణము గల మల్లికాసుమదామములచే అర్చించిన ఆ భక్తురాలి కోరికమేరకు, శంకరుడు 'మల్లికార్జున' నామమును సవదరించును.

పిమ్మట, అయిదా ఱాశ్వాసములలో శ్రీశైలక్షేత్రమునందు గల వివిధవృక్షములు, శిఖరములు, వనములు, సరోవరములు, బిలములు, వాని వాని మాహాత్మ్యములు, ఆ యా శక్తులు, తత్సాధనా మార్గములు మున్నగు విశేషములు వివరింపబడియున్నవి.

ఈ శ్రీపర్వత మాహాత్మ్యమంతటిని సనత్కుమారుడు వేదవ్యాసునకు తెల్పినట్లు కలదు. వ్యాసుడు శిష్యులతోగూడి గంగా తీరమందలి సనత్కుమారుని యాశ్రమమున కేగి, సత్కృతుడై 'అనఘ ! ముల్లోకముల కెక్కుడైన పుణ్యవసుధ యెయ్యది ? తెలియంగవలయు నాకు' అని సనత్కుమారు నడుగును. అందులకా బ్రహ్మమానసపుత్రుడు 'శ్రీశైలము ముజ్జగములలో ముఖ్యమైనది. పూర్వము పరమేశ్వరుడు పార్వతికి దెల్పిన యీ యర్థమును నేను బ్రహ్మవలన వినియున్నాడను. అది నీ కిపుడు వివరింతును వినుము'. అని పై కథను చెప్పుట కుపక్రమించును

ఈ గ్రంథమునకు మూలమగు శ్రీశైలఖండము పంద్రెండువేలున్నూఱు గ్రంథములు[7] గలిగి, ముప్పది రెండధ్యాయములలో విస్తరించి యున్నది. శేషనాథకవి దీనిని ఏడువందల గద్యపద్యములు గల ఆ ఱాశ్వాసముల కృతిగా అనువదించియున్నాడు. ఈతని యనువాదము చాలవఱకు సంగ్రహధోరణిలో సాగినది.

ఈ మాహాత్మ్యప్రబంధము వస్తుతత్త్వము ననుసరించి ప్రాయికముగా పౌరాణిక కథనరీతిని రచింపబడినదైనను, ఇందు కావ్యోచిత రసవద్వర్ణనలకు కొదువ లేదు. పర్వతుని తపస్సు, చంద్రగుప్తిపురము, వసంతఋతువు, రాకుమారి చెలులతోగూడి పూవులు గోయుట — మొదలగు వర్ణన లిందులకు ముఖ్య తార్కాణములు.

ఈ కవియొక్క ఔచితీపోషణకు, చంద్రగుప్తుడు తన కూతును గాంచి మోహించిన సన్నివేశము మచ్చుతునక :

పడఁతి నానారసప్రాయ భంగులందుఁ
బ్రౌఢరీతుల గీతముల్ వాడ, నృపతి
చూచె ; నంగభవుడు ప్రసూనశరము
వాఁడి గావించి నిగిడించి వంక దీర్చె. 4 — 15.

7. గ్రంథ మనగా ముప్పదిరెం డక్షరములపరిమితి,

మోహించిన జనక వ్యా
మోహం బతిదురిత కర్మమూలంబని తా
నూహించి మగుడి తన గృహ
దేహళీదేశమున నిల్చెఁ దెఱవలుఁ దానున్. 4 – 16

ఇందు మొదటి పద్యమున క్రీగీతలు గీచిన భాగము ద్వారా, కవి చంద్రగుప్తుని యనుచిత మోహమును వ్యంగ్యధోరణిలో సున్నితముగా సూచించి, యౌచిత్యమును కాపాడి యున్నాడు. పిమ్మట, రాజు కావించు మోహపుచేష్టల వర్ణనకు అవకాశము లేకుండ రెండవ పద్యమును రచించినాడు. ఈ పద్యము చంద్రవతివలెనే చకచక నడిచి, ఔచిత్యమునకు అండగా నిలిచినది

ఈ విచిత్రకథ యుండుటవలననే భాషోద్ధారకుడగు బ్రౌనుదొర యీ గ్రంథముపై తన యభిప్రాయము నీ క్రింది విధముగా వ్రాసియున్నాడు :

"This poem the Parvata Puran is written in a classical and learned style but the story is a parcel of odds and ends. In the third canto[8] a new tale commences regarding a father who is in love with his own daughter. It is a silly stupid book, utterly worthless - yet written by a man of learning and in a good style of poetry."[9]

ఇట్లు, బ్రౌనుదొర మనస్సునుసైతము చివుక్కుమనిపించిన ఈ పౌరాణిక కథను, కావ్యోచితముగా సంక్షేపించియుండుటలోనే శేషనాథకవీంద్రుని యుచితజ్ఞత వెల్లడియగుచున్నది.

ఇట్లే, ఆ యాపాత్రల చిత్తవృత్తులను, అందలి ప్రత్యేకతలను చిత్రించుటలో సిద్ధహస్తుడీ శివకవి. శిలాదమహర్షి, ఆయన పుత్రులు మున్నగువారలు గావించిన తపములు, చేసిన స్తోత్రములు, కోరిన కోరికలు వర్ణితములైన ఘట్టములీ సత్యమును చక్కగా చాటుచున్నవి

ఈ కవి, శైవవాఙ్మయమునకు గురుపీఠమనదగిన పాల్కుఱికి సోమనాథుని 'పర్వత ప్రకరణ' మందలి వర్ణనలను, భావములను, శివప్రసాదగౌరవముతో శిరసావహించి స్వీకరించియున్నాడు. ఇందలి శ్రీనగ, పాతాళగంగాది వర్ణన లిందులకు దృష్టాంతములు. సోముని 'అక్షరాంకగద్య'కు దీటుగా నిందలి ద్వితీయశ్వాసమున పర్వతుడు పరమేశ్వరుని ప్రస్తుతించు ఘట్టమున రచింపబడిన 'అక్షరోక్తస్తోత్రము' పై యభిప్రాయమునే నిరూపించుచున్నది.

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8. Fourth canto అని యుండవలెను.
9. A Descriptive catalogue of The Telugu Manuscripts, G.O.M.L., Madras, Vol. I - Pages 403 and 405.

మఱియు, నిట్లే యీ భక్తకవి ప్రాచీనులు రచించిన ప్రసిద్ధ శివస్తుతి శ్లోకములను అభినివేశముతో అనువదించి, యీ ప్రబంధమున అటనట పాదుకొల్పియున్నాడు.

ఇక, నీతనికి సన్నిహిత పూర్వుడగు శ్రీనాథుని కవితాప్రభావ మీతనిపై స్పష్టముగా గానిపించు చున్నది. అది, అల్లోనేరెడుపండు, వడకుగుబ్బలిరాచవారికన్నె — వంటి సమాసములు, అత్తమిల్లు, గిలుబాడు, చిఱుసాన బట్టు — వంటి క్రియాపదములు, ఆయా పద్యముల యెత్తుగడలు, ఛాయలు, సీసపద్యముల పోకడలు మున్నగు పలురీతులలో నిందు ప్రత్యక్షమగుచున్నది. ఇందులకు ఈ క్రిందివి హేతువులుగా నూహింప బడినవి :

1. ఈశ్వరార్చన కళాశీలుడగు శ్రీనాథు డీతని యభిమాన కవియై యుండుట.

2. కవిసార్వభౌముడు భీమఖండమును విరచించిన సరణిలో శేషనాథశివకవి తాను శ్రీశైలఖండమును రచియింప సంకల్పించుకొనియుండుట.

ఇదే విధమున, ఈ కావ్యములో గోచరించు బమ్మెర పోతన వంటి మఱికొందఱు మహాకవుల రచనల పోలికలు, ప్రాచీన సాహిత్యముతోడి ఈతనికి గల ప్రగాఢపరిచయమును ప్రకటించుచు, ఈ శివయోగివరేణ్యుని 'కవితాకళాభిజ్ఞప్రజ్ఞ' కు కమనీయాలంకారములై విలసిల్లుచున్నవి.

శేషనాథుడు సంస్కృత ప్రాకృతాద్యష్ట భాషలలోను, తర్క-వ్యాకరణాది వివిధ శాస్త్రములయందును విచక్షణుడైన విద్వత్కవి. 'ఈశజ్ఞానసుధారసజ్ఞు' డగు శివయోగీశ్వరుడు. శిలాదముని తపోవర్ణనమున ఈతని యోగశాస్త్రానుభవము, చంద్రవతి గానము చేయు సన్నివేశమున సంగీతశాస్త్ర ప్రావీణ్యము, సనత్కుమారుని వర్ణనయందును, నందియీశ్వరుని స్తుతించుపట్టునను ఈ కవికి గల వేదాంతవిద్యావైదుష్యము మున్నగునవి వెల్లడియగుచున్నవి.

ఈ పండితకవి భాష ప్రాయికముగా తత్సమభూయిష్ఠము. అయినను, అచ్చటచ్చట మనోజ్ఞమగు తెలుగుపలుకుబడి అందగించియే యున్నది. కరుణాంబురాశియైన శివుడు శిలాదమునికి, ఆతని పుత్త్రులకు సాక్షాత్కరించిన సందర్భమందలి ఆ కల్యాణమూర్తి స్వరూప వర్ణనలు అట్టి తేటతెలుగుపల్కుల పరిమళమును గుబాళించువానిలో ముఖ్యములు. ఆ యా స్తుతిఘట్టములలో నీతడు రంజనకై సంస్కృతభాషలో సైతము రమణీయరచన సాగించి యుండుట ఈ కావ్యమందలి యింకొక విశిష్టత. మచ్చునకు కరవీరుడు మల్లికార్జునదేవుని నుతియించిన ఘట్టమునందలి యీ క్రింది తాళవృత్తములు చిత్తగింపదగియున్నవి.

"श्रीपर्वतसिंहासनभर्ता ! तापसकल्मषचयसंहर्ता !
मानितपूतश्रुतिनुतिपाठा ! श्रीनगशृङ्गस्थितशुभपीठा !

पृथुलचतुर्दशभुवनाधीशा ! प्रथित श्रीपर्वतमल्लीशा !
देव ! श्रीपर्वतमल्लीश्वर ! शाश्वतवैभव ! सकलप्रभव !
विश्वमुखाम्बुज ! विश्वविलोचन ! विश्वेश्वर ! विश्वम्भरमार्गण ।
निश्श्वासीकृतनिखिलश्रुतिचय ! भवत: कीर्तिश्रीधावल्यम्
शरदभ्रति मन्दारति कुन्दति नन्दीशति नवनीतविहारति
कर्पूरति कैलासति चन्द्रति कण्ठीरवति क्षीरसमुद्रति
डिण्डीरति हीरति हंसति विचिकिलति प्रालेयति कुमुदति''

మఱియు నీ కవి, కటిత్రము (కట్టుకొనెడు వస్త్రము), సైకతేయుడు (వ్యాసుడు), పంచాక్షరఫలకల్పకము (శివుడు) – వంటి నూత్నప్రయోగములను, బాలకి, మలహరుడు, పూన్చు (పూజించు), పానియ్యంబులు, కమనియ్యామృతము – వంటి శివకవ్యుచితప్రయోగములను మచ్చునకో అనునట్లుగా ప్రయోగించియున్నాడు. మొత్తముమీద ఈ శివకవి శేఖరుని భాష మృదులమైన యర్థము, స్ఫారమైన వాగ్వైఖరి కలిగి శ్రవణ సుభగముగా శబ్దించుచున్నది.

ఇట్టి భాషానిగుంభములుగల ఈ శ్రీపర్వతపురాణ మందలి శైలి, శబ్దార్థాలంకార సమంచితమై, దేశిమార్గచ్ఛందోవైవిధ్యము సంస్కృతాంధ్రప్రోత్రవైచిత్రి – మున్నగు గుణ గణములతో నొప్పారుచు, ఒక్కొకచో తరళతరతరంగమైన పాతాళగంగా ప్రవాహము వలెను, మఱియొకచో మల్లికార్జున శ్రీమన్మహాదేవమందిర దివ్యఘంటా నిస్వనమువలెను, మంద్రమంజులముగా, సాంద్రగంభీరముగా నినదించుచున్నది.

శ్రీపర్వతపురాధిపతి కర్పితమైన యీ మాహాత్మ్యకావ్యమందలి పద్యసుమ కదంబమునుండి మచ్చున కొకటిరెండు దాహృతులు :

శ్రీనగకందరంబుల వసించి చరించు పుళిందబృందముల్
భూనుతభోగమోక్షములఁ బొందఁగఁ జూచి నిలింపసంఘముల్
శ్రీనిలయాభిరామమగు శ్రీగిరిమీఁదఁ జరింతు రట్టి ల
మ్మానితనాక సౌఖ్యమహిమంబుల నెల్లఁ దృణీకరింపుచున్. 3 – 85.

వింజామరంబుల విధమునఁ జూపట్టు
జడముడిపై బాలచంద్రకళలు
జడముడిపై బాల చంద్రమరీచులు
నెలకొని నిండువెన్నెలలు గాయ,
నిండువెన్నెలతేట నిగ్గున వికసించు
చదలేటిపూఁ దావి సంభ్రమంబు
చదలేటి పూఁదావి చవులగాడ్పులు గ్రోలి
పాఁపపెండెము కళాప్రౌఢి మెఱయ,

నెఱయు సరసంజ కెంజాయ యొఱపుఁ దెగడు
వన్నె చారల తోలు దుప్పటుల మెఱయఁ,
బ్రమథగణరాజితో, సురప్రతతితోడ
నతివ ముందఱఁ బ్రత్యక్షమయ్యె శివుఁడు. 4 – 96.

అనర్గళశైలీవిలసితము, అవిరళభక్తిసౌరభసముల్లసితము నయిన ఈ కావ్యమునకు సుపరిష్కృతముద్రణ మింతదనుక వెలువడకపోవుట శోచనీయము.[10]

శ్రీశైలక్షేత్రమహిమను ప్రత్యేక కావ్యముగా ప్రబంధీకరించిన కవులలో అద్యుడుగా శేషనాథునకు, శ్రీగిరి మల్లికార్జున చరణపంకజాంకితమైన సుశ్రావ్య స్తుతి కావ్యముగా శ్రీశైల ఖండమునకు ఆంధ్రసారస్వత ప్రపంచమున శాశ్వతస్థానము కలదు.

"........................
ఘన పురాతనగ్రామణి శ్రీగిరి
సకలామరరక్షామణి శ్రీగిరి
సజ్జనపాదప జలదము శ్రీగిరి
సేవకమందిరసేవధి శ్రీగిరి
శోభితపుణ్యాయశోనిధి శ్రీగిరి
....
ఇది శ్రీగిరిపతి హితసన్నిధి యని
ఇది పఠియించిన నిహపరసుఖమని."

ఆధారగ్రంథములు :

1. శ్రీపర్వతపురాణము (D. 362 తాళపత్రప్రతి) యస్.వి.యు. ఓరియంటల్ రీసర్చి ఇన్స్టిట్యూట్, తిరుపతి.
2. ఆంధ్రకవుల చరిత్రము – తృతీయభాగము (1899), కందుకూరి వీరేశలింగము పంతులు.
3. ఆంధ్రకవి తరంగిణి – తొమ్మిదవ సంపుటము (1952), చాగంటి శేషయ్య.
4. వీరశైవాంధ్ర వాఙ్మయము (1952), శిష్టా రామకృష్ణశాస్త్రి.
5. శ్రీపర్వతపురాణము – జూపిటర్ బుక్ హౌస్, గుంటూరు (1970).

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10. ఈ గ్రంథము తొలుత క్రీ.శ. 1888లో చెన్నపురి శైవసిద్ధాంత ముద్రాక్షరశాల యందు, పిమ్మట 1970లో గుంటూరు జూపిటర్ బుక్ హౌస్ నందు – నేటికి రెండు పర్యాయములు ముద్రితమైనది. అయినను, లేఖకదోషములతోపాటు ముద్రణ స్ఖాలిత్యములును అందు చోటుచేసికొనుటచే, ఆరెండు ముద్రణలకన్న వ్రాతప్రతులే పెక్కు చోట్ల నయమనిపించు చున్నవి.

OBITUARY

We regret to note the demise of Prof. Lüdwig Alsdorf, an eminent German Indologist on March 25th 1978 He was 73.

Born in 1904 in the Rhineland, Prof. Lüdwig studied Indology, Comparative Linguistics, Persian and Arabic at the University of Heidelberg and Hamburg under Heinrich Zimmer and Walter Schubring. He got his doctorate from Hamburg University in 1928 for his thesis dealing with a Jain Apabhraṃśa text (Kumārapālapratibodha). Later he prosecuted his studies in Berlin under Heinrich Lueders and Hermann Jacobi under whom he worked on Jain Harivaṃśa Purāṇa for his Habilitation thesis.

Prof. Lüdwig served the University of Allahabad (1930-32) as Lecturer in German and French. During this period he travelled extensively all over India and established his contacts with the Jaina Munis, like Vidyā Vijaya and Jayanta Vijaya (1935-38). He was Reader of Indology at Berlin University and afterwards taught at the University of Muenster. In 1950 he succeeded his teacher Prof. Schubring as Head of the department at Hamburg University and since 1972 he had been Professor Emeritus of that University.

He wrote many articles in German and published a number of books. Some of his out standing writings are: *Apabhraṃśa studies (1937). The Indian subcontinent: Bharat, Pakistan, Ceylon (1955), Contributions to the History of Vegetarianism and Cow Worship in India (1961)* etc. He has also edited and published in two volumes papers left by Heinrich Lueders under the title "Varuṇa". He was also Editor-In-Chief of 'The Critical Pali-Dictionary'. In his last years he concentrated on the earliest commentaries of the Jain Āgamas.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. *Dr. Nomita Dutta* ... Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Muralidhar Girl's College, CALCUTTA - has been publishing research papers on various subjects.

2. *Dr. M.D. Balasubrahmanyam* ... Obtained his Ph.D. degree from the University of Poona for his thesis *The System of Kṛt Accentuation in Pāṇini and Veda.* He has contributed research papers to various research journals. At present he is the Principal, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidya Peetha, TIRUPATI.

3. *Dr. Biswanath Bhattacharya* ... 16, Andrews Pallai, SANTINIKETAN (Post), Birbhum (District), West Bengal. - obtained the Ph.D. Degree from the University of Marburg, West Germany; and D.Litt. from the University of Calcutta - published many research papers in various journals.

4. *Dr. S.G. Moghe* ... Lecturer in Sanskrit, Rajaram College, KOLHAPUR. He has published research articles in many research journals.

5. *Dr. V.V. Mirashi* ... 'Kamalasadan' - near Jain Hostel, Dharmpeth, NAGPUR - 440 010. He is one of the foremost living Indologists - wrote more than twenty five research works in English, Marathi and Hindi and published numerous research papers. In 1941 he received the title *Mahamahopādhyāya.*

6. *Dr. M. Arunachalam* ... Director, Tamil, Sanskrit and other Indian languages Research Institute, MADRAS-6. He has pub-

lished many articles. The author of '*Harijan Saints of Tamil-nadu*'.

7. *Dr. B.V. Kishan* ... Professor and Head of the department of Philosophy, Andhra University, WALTAIR - author of *(1) The Philosophy of A.N. Whitehead, (2) Schopenhever and the problem of Salvation and (3) Indian Philosophy of Religion.*

8. *Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan* ... Director, S.V.U. Oriental Research Institute, TIRUPATI. A student of the Veda and the Nyāyaśāstra-obtained his Ph.D. degree for his thesis '*The Viṣṇukuṇḍis and their times* (an epigraphical study). He was a Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, A.S.I. and had published many research papers in journals - edited *Bhojacaritra* in Sanskrit and brought out two original Sanskrit glosses on the *Tarkasaṅgraha* and *Tarkasaṅgraha Dīpikā.*

9. *Dr. D.C. Sircar* ... A famous Epigraphist and Historian - wrote more than twenty seven works on Ancient Indian History and edited many works - published more than thousand research papers. At present, he is a visiting Professor at Viswabharati University, Santiniketan and had been earlier Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

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11. *Dr. T.V. Mahalingam* ... Retired Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Madras, MADRAS - author of *(1) Administration and Social life under Vijayanagar (2) Early South Indian Palaeography (3) Report on the Excavations in the lower Kavari valley Thirukkum puliyur* and *(4) South Indian polity.* He has also edited *Mackenzie Manuscripts* and many research articles in different Journals.

12. *Dr. S.C. Goyal* ... Vice-Chancellor, University of Jodhpur, JODHPUR. By Profession an engineer but much interested in scientific interpretation of the Vedas.

:3. *Dr. E.A.V. Prasad* ... Reader, Department of Geology, S.V.U. College, TIRUPATI. He was awarded the degree of Ph D. for his thesis *Igneous and Metamorphic of Complex of Mid-Pennar Reservoir Area, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh* and published many papers. Now he is Principal Investigator of the Research projects - (1) "Geoscience Investigations of the Sriharikota Island" sponsored by the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO) and (2) Geology of the Termite Soils - sponsored by the University Grants Commission.

14. *Sri N.S. Ramanuja Tatacharya* ... Reader, Kendriya Sanskrit Vidya Peetha, TIRUPATI - a traditional scholar in all the six *śāstras* - edited *Tattvacintāmaṇi* with *Nyāya*

śikhāmani and *Prakāśa* and *Jñāpakasaṅgraha* with *Vivṛti* etc.

15. *Sri N.C.V. Narasimhacharya* ... Head of the Department of Sāhitya, S.V. Oriental College, TIRUPATI- translated a few works into Telugu for the Sahitya Akademi, Delhi - published many research papers in Sanskrit.

16. *Sri S.B. Raghunathacharya* ... Lecturer, Department of Sanskrit, S.V.U. College, TIRUPATI - wrote a commentary on the *Kriyā Kairava Candrikā* of Varāha guru, a *Pāñcarātrāgama* work - published many research papers in Sanskrit.

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19. *Sri K.J. Krishna Moorthy* ... Lecturer in Telugu, S.V.U.O.R. Institute, TIRUPATI - a Vidvan in Telugu, co-author for the works *Sāhititarangamulu* and *Kādambini* in Telugu - published a few research articles.

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